

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED
SERMONS OF JEREMY TAYLOR

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.	1
Statement of Purpose	1
Review of Literature	2
Material Analyzed	7
BACKGROUND OF THE SUNDAY SERMONS	12
Youth in England	12
Life in Wales.	17
Retirement in Ireland.	23
17th Century Church of England	29
Anglo Catholicism	31
Anglicanism	34
Puritanism.	37
ARRANGEMENT OF THE SUMMER HALF YEAR SERMONS	40
Unity of Form	40
Major Divisions	41
Minor Divisions	43
Unity of Matter.	51
Subjects.	51
Theses and Texts.	52
The <u>Divisio</u>	60
CONCLUSIONS	76
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.	78
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	79
APPENDIX.	82

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

This paper is a critical analysis of Jeremy Taylor's method of arrangement or disposition in twenty-seven sermons preached at Golden Grove, for the Summer Half Year. Its initial purpose is to determine how he organized his material for the best possible effect. Its ultimate aim is to open new avenues for appreciating the artistic prose of Taylor. The fulfillment of both these ends should contribute to the discovery of an aspect of Taylor's rhetoric that is too often given secondary consideration, or neglected altogether, in favor of a study of his embellishment or style.

This investigation is offered in the belief that it can show another aspect in Taylor's rhetoric as artistic as his style. It is hoped that it will stimulate further interest in the study of the means by which Taylor gained his eloquent expression by functional organization.

Even though the initial purpose is to determine Taylor's use of arrangement, it will be necessary to work with the other major divisions of rhetoric, invention, style, delivery, and memory. The divisions of rhetoric, when being analyzed, cannot be severed completely from one another because the elements of one division compliment and support the elements of another division.

Review of Literature

From the seventeenth century forward the most important writings of the Right Reverend Jeremy Taylor, D.D., have been preserved in The Whole Works with a life of the author and a critical examination of his writings by the Right Reverend Reginald Heber, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Calcutta, revised and corrected by the Reverend Charles Page Eden, M.A., fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.

Since many writers and scholars have classified Taylor's prose writings into four major divisions, it seems fitting that this review should magnify the fact that even though all works are theological in nature, they are categorically practical writings, theological writings, casuistic writings, and devotional writings.

In the first group, that is, practical writings, The Life of Christ or The Great Exemplar is Taylor's first well-known. The purpose and intention of Taylor is to withdraw the thoughts of men from controversial and less important doctrines, and progress to an organic growth in the life pattern of Jesus Christ. These are stages through which the novice Christian must pass, and they require the most concentrated dedication. This work's popularity produced The Holy Living and The Holy Dying. The former considers means of holiness, Christian sobriety, Christian justice, and duties of religion; whereas the latter discusses preparation to a holy and blessed death, preparation for a blessed death by way of exercise, prescription of remedies against impatience in sickness, and rules for practice of graces proper to a state of sickness: patience, faith, repentance, justice, and charity. The final group of publications of Taylor's practical writings are his sermons. In all, sixty-four sermons were published. His most famous are the fifty-two

sermons described as A Yearly Course or Eviavrōs divided into two volumes for the winter and summer half years. The winter half year sermons are twenty-five in number to begin with Advent Sunday of the Christian church year and continue through the Sunday after Ascension Day which is commonly referred to as Ascensiontide. The summer half year sermons, with which this paper will be most concerned later, are twenty-seven in number beginning with Whitsunday or the Feast of Pentecost and continuing through the 25th Sunday after Trinity.

Because of the decision to work specifically with discourses which are found under the division of practical writings, it is necessary to point out that in order to acquire an appraisal worthy of Jeremy Taylor, it is necessary to review all of his writings from which one can perceive a flavor deserving of the man. In the second group, that of theological writings, the reader finds Defense of the Episcopacy or Episcopacy Asserted, the first published work of Taylor in 1642. Taylor's recognition of all the rulers of the church, that is, all bishops, apostles, and apostolic men as those to be honoured is especially important with acknowledgment of the bishops who rule and particularly the bishops who travel with the word. The Liberty of Propheying is an especially courageous work when the reader recalls that religious belief in the England of 1647 was conceived not as an opinion, but as a law. In other words, the people of England accepted religious belief as religious law just as they would accept civil belief as civil law. Other writings in this second classification which should be noted are Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy, The Doctrine of Repentance or Unum Necessarium, which considers in length the doctrine of original sin, Dissuasive from Popery, and Discourse of Confirmation. Lastly, in this group, The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament Proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation con-

siders quite specifically Taylor's position of the Holy Communion as (1) a memorial service, practised by some protestant sects, (2) a spiritual eating, practised as a Sacrament by the Church of England or the Anglican Communion, and (3) a physical eating, practised as a Sacrament by the Church of Rome.

In the third group, that of casuistical writings, that is, subjects concerned with right and wrong, Taylor's outstanding examples are On Friendship and The Rule of Conscience or Ductor Dubitantium. The Rule of Conscience found in volumes nine and ten of The Whole Works specifically considers right or sure conscience, the confident or erroneous conscience, the probable or thinking conscience, the doubtful conscience, and the scrupulous conscience. Further, it discusses the law of nature as it is drawn up in the Christian law, and the interpretation and obligation of the laws of Jesus Christ.

Some of the well-known devotional writings, which make up the fourth group, are The Divine Institution and Necessity of the Office Ministerial, The Rules and Advices to the Clergy, which include the obligations of personal duty, prudence required in ministers, rules and measures of government to be used by ministers in their respective cures, rules and advices concerning preaching, catechism, and visitation of the sick, and ministering the sacraments, and Golden Grove, which is a catechism. Others include Collection of Offices, and The Worthy Communicant, which presents the communicant as a person who must prepare himself by a holy life, by mortification of all his sins, and by the acquisition of all Christian graces which is not the work of one day or one week.

It seems well to take notice of the fact that all of the practical writings were completed and published at the time when critics have established approximately the height of Jeremy Taylor's writing. For instance The Great

Exemplar, 1649, Holy Living, 1650, Summer Half Year Sermons and Holy Dying, 1651, and Winter Half Year Sermons, 1653, were first published within a four year period. This study will consider one group of the writings mentioned above, Summer Half Year Sermons.

A necessary background to this study was a review of the theological writings because they, as a group, represented the longest span in number of years, and reflected the author's thinking, which was variable in interpretation on certain matters, during his entire life. For instance, Episcopacy Asserted, 1642, was a discourse following the doctrine of apostolic succession of the Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, which the Anglican Church claims right, and that succession specifically related to the government and control of an apostle or bishop as the title is used. Liberty of Prophesying, 1647, invokes freedom so the reader finds both compositions included in one volume with only a lapse of five years. There can be a question whether Taylor is consistent in his thinking. The situation of the Church of England at this time as well as the position of Taylor required his taking a stand on various issues when considering his influence on Anglicans, Puritans, and Protestant sects. This stand, however, was not necessarily altered just because of the nature and type of Christian group, for Taylor was quite convinced of doctrine of subject and interpretation of that subject. One should further note that Taylor was well aware of the fact that variety in certain subjects of religious or Christian connotation was important not only to the people within the Anglican Communion, but to other protestant sects, even though his position in treatment of those certain subjects tended to be directed toward an Anglo Catholic or "High Church." A later example of the theological writings in Dissuasive from Popery, 1664.

The casuistic writings and devotional writings, although important to a complete study of Taylor, were not believed to be essential to this study. With fewer number of works categorized under these two kinds of writings, and with a long span of years between those writings, no consistency was noticed, nor does there seem to be any relevancy to the study of the Summer Half Year Sermons.

The Life of the Right Reverend Jeremy Taylor, D.D., by Reginald Heber, the most widely recognized biography, is included in The Whole Works and is very helpful in that it presents details of Taylor's life; however Edmund Gosse's Jeremy Taylor, 1904, clarifies many details and names of persons so that the situations and events are easily followed through Taylor's somewhat complex life in England, Wales, and Ireland.

For a background of the Church of England in the seventeenth century, the institution to which Taylor dedicated his life, it was found that Margaret Gest's The House of Understanding and F. J. Foakes Jackson's Anglican Church Principles were most helpful in delineating distinctions between the "High Church" and the "Low Church" at this time.

In The Caroline Tradition of the Church of Ireland, Frederick R. Bolton gives special reference to Jeremy Taylor. Since Taylor became a bishop in a diocese in Ireland, since his last years were spent in Ireland, and since his most influential position of life was in Ireland, it is important to be aware of the Caroline tradition of Ireland's Church to which Taylor was oriented and accepted.

John Evelyn, who was a dear, personal friend of Jeremy Taylor, has much significant material between the two of them in his Diary and Correspondence; Evelyn, among many well known figures, was one with whom Taylor consulted and confided often in personal visitations and in correspondence.

Background literature in rhetorical theory previous to the time of Jeremy Taylor is essential to the present study. Other readings, in history of England,

particularly Gilbert Burnet's The History of the Reformation of the Church of England and Henry Hallam's The Constitutional History of England, in philosophy and education of England, such as W. R. Sorley's A History of English Philosophy and Karl R. Wallace's Rhetorical Exercises in Tudor Education, and in literature of the seventeenth century in England, specifically Douglas Bush's English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, Basil Willey's The Seventeenth Century, and Seventeenth Century Verse and Prose by Helen C. White, Ruth C. Wallerstein, and Ricardo Quintana, were especially valuable.

Several theses and dissertations have been written on Taylor's several works. Some of these are James R. King's A Literary Study of Taylor, University of Pennsylvania, Florence R. Morgan's Studies in Taylor, University of Southern California, Robert S. Jackson's Meditative Backgrounds of Taylor's THE GREAT EXEMPLAR AND HOLY DYING, Yale University, William C. Boyce's THE LIBERTY OF PROPHECYING, Columbia University, and Robert Mashburn's Dispositio in the Sunday Sermons of Jeremy Taylor, University of Tennessee.

Material Analyzed

Upon reviewing the literature Jeremy Taylor composed, and the literature and commentaries written about him or his writings, it was found that for rhetorical analysis A Yearly Course or Eviaçròs presented most interesting prose with which to work, since very little recorded research has been conducted with any of Taylor's sermons. Comparatively, Taylor's devotional, casuistic, and theological writings have been studied more carefully than the practical writings with the exception of The Great Exemplar, Holy Living, and Holy Dying. The sermons, when analyzed, have had stylistic analyses most often, according to the recorded studies in American Doctoral Dissertations, the Knower index

of Speech Monographs, and Modern Languages Association Publication. To the best knowledge of this writer, after reviewing recorded research, it was found that no work has been done in the area of disposition or arrangement with A Yearly Course with the exception of one study. Robert Mashburn, in his Dispositio in the Sunday Sermons of Jeremy Taylor, a master's thesis at the University of Tennessee, 1957, worked specifically with the Winter Half year; therefore it should be noted that Mashburn's work is in some degree the inspiration for this writer's desire to work specifically with the arrangement of the Summer Half Year Sermons, which constitute the first written and published portion of the two major segments composing A Yearly Course.

The editions of Eviavròs or A Yearly Course are as follows beginning with 1651:

First edition of the Summer Half Year, London, 1651

. . . . Winter 1653

Second edition of the Summer Half Year, London, 1654

. . . . Winter 1655

Third edition of both Summer Half Year and
Winter Half Year, London, 1668

Fifth edition of both Summer Half Year and
Winter Half Year, London, 1678

Of these four editions, the two former were generally alike, as also the two latter. The second was little more than a reprint of the first, as also the fifth was of the third. Reginald Heber's edition, dated 1822, was revised and corrected by Charles Eden in an edition dated 1862. Eden tells the reader that it was not practical to follow any one edition exclusively, because some evident mistakes in the earlier editions were corrected in later editions. The most trivial differences are mentioned in the notes of the present edition of Eden's which is dated 1862.

The study is based on the Heber and Eden edition of Taylor's works, 1862. For convenience a table of the sermons, with the serial numbers, pages, titles,

and texts, as they appear in Volume IV of this edition, is placed in the Appendix.

In order that the material chosen might be analyzed more accurately, a definition of terms to support such a discussion is necessary. For the purposes of this paper rhetoric shall be defined as the faculty (power) of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion.¹

Aristotle acquaints the reader with three kinds of rhetoric: (1) deliberative rhetoric is exhortative or dissuasive in nature and concerns itself with the future with an end of expediency or in expediency; (2) forensic rhetoric is accusative or defensive in nature and concerns itself with the past with an end of justice or injustice; and (3) epideictic rhetoric is by nature praise or blame and concerns itself with the present with an end of honor or dishonor.² From these three kinds of rhetoric, there developed a fourth which the Christian tradition introduced and is applicable in the seventeenth century, that is, pulpit rhetoric. First, pulpit rhetoric might possibly include the affirmative and the negative such as an exhortative or dissuasive, accusative or defensive in nature, and worthy of praise or blame; secondly, pulpit rhetoric involves all time--past, present, and future; and finally, pulpit rhetoric has possible ends of expediency or in expediency, justice or injustice, and honor or dishonor.

Keeping in mind that pulpit rhetoric is under study in this paper, divisions of any of the kinds of rhetoric or oratory should be considered.

¹ Aristotle, The Rhetoric, trans. Lane Cooper (New York, 1932), p. 7.

² Ibid., pp. 16-7.

Cicero introduces five divisions of rhetoric to the orator.

And, since all the activity and ability of an orator falls into five divisions, I learned that he must first hit upon what to say; then manage and marshal his discoveries, not merely in orderly fashion, but with a discriminating eye for the exact weight as it were of each argument; next go on to array them in the adornments of style; after that keep them guarded in his memory; and in the end deliver them with effect and charm³

Cicero not only discusses the five divisions of rhetoric or oratory in book one of De Oratore, but amplifies the discussion in book two of that work. These same divisions are treated also in Rhetorica Ad Herennium.

Aristotle gives the oration four parts which are proem, statement, argument, and epilogue.⁴ Basically it involves three major parts or the tripartite, that is, the proem is the introduction, the statement and argument are the body or development, and the epilogue is the conclusion.

Cicero gives the oration six parts which are the exordium, narratio, divisio, confirmatio, refutatio, and peroratio. Again, these six parts substantially support the tripartite division, but it breaks into more specific parts.

. . . I had also been taught that, before speaking on the issue, we must first secure the goodwill of our audience; that next we must state our case; afterwards define the dispute; then establish our own allegations; subsequently disprove those of the other side; and in our peroration expand and reinforce all that was in our favour, while we weakened and demolished whatever went to support our opponents.⁵

Neither the divisions of rhetoric can be solely considered separately nor can the parts of an oration be considered completely separated, but in the main,

³ Marcus T. Cicero, De Oratore, trans. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, (Cambridge, 1948), p. 99.

⁴ Aristotle, The Rhetoric, p. 220.

⁵ Cicero, De Oratore, p. 99.

this study will give emphasis to the arrangement of the Summer Half Year Sermons with greater detail in the divisio of the parts. Arrangement will be the main consideration of the analysis, particularly in the form Taylor employs, that is, the major and minor divisions found in the Summer Half Year Sermons. Taylor's arrangement of his sermons because of the subjects he chooses and the texts he uses will also be closely considered. How Taylor manages his materials, not only with an order in mind, but with appropriate emphasis to that material, will be specifically considered in the divisio of the sermons selected to be analyzed. As Quintilian has stated: "It is not only of consequence what we say, and how we say it, but also where we say it."⁶

⁶ Quintilian, Institutes of Oratory, trans. J. S. Watson (London, 1919), I, p. 177.

BACKGROUND OF THE SUNDAY SERMONS

Youth in England

Jeremy, third son of Nathaniel and Mary Taylor, was born in Trinity parish, Cambridge, and baptized on the 15th of August, 1613. His father was a barber; this occupation, united as it generally was with the practice of surgery and pharmacy, was at no time likely to raise its professor or his children to wealth or eminence.¹

Nathaniel Taylor, Jeremy's father, was the lineal descendant of Dr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadleigh, in the county of Suffolk, and chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer.² Rowland Taylor was distinguished among the divines of the Reformation for his abilities, his learning, and piety, but suffered death at the stake during Queen Mary's reign.

When three years of age, Jeremy was sent to a grammar school in Cambridge. However, Jeremy Taylor writes in later life, that his father was solely responsible for his being grounded in grammar and mathematics, so it is somewhat indefinite as to the authenticity of the date of his entering school.

On the 18th of August, 1626, Jeremy Taylor was entered at Caius College as a sizar, or poor scholar, an order of students who then were what the servitors still continue to be in some colleges in Oxford, and what the "lay brethren" are in the convents of the Romish church.

¹ Jeremy Taylor, The Whole Works of the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D.D., ed. Reginald Heber and Charles Page Eden (London, 1862), I, p. xi.--hereafter cited as Works.

² Loc. Cit. (In a letter from Lady Wray to William Todd, Esq., of Castlemartin, dated May 31, 1732, quoted in the MS. of Mr. Todd Jones.)

This was an institution which was in its original very far from deserving the reprobation which has been sometimes cast upon it. Indeed it owed its beginning to a zeal for the education of the poor; it was as well directed as it was humane and Christian.³

During Taylor's formal education his writing, even though it was not publication material, was noticeable. The disposition, as a school and college exercise, remained a favorite pedagogical device well into the seventeenth century. Together with the theme, the declamation, and other rhetorical devices, it was supposed to produce the same readiness and elegance of expression that Ascham claimed for his double translation:

. . . it would work a true choice and placing of words, a right ordering of sentences, and easy understanding of the tongue, a readiness to speak, a faculty to write, a true judgment, both of his own, and other mens' doings, whatever tongue he might use.⁴

Whether Taylor received any honorary distinction from Cambridge is doubtful. Rust, his friend, though not his contemporary, educated at the same university, asserts that after taking his degree of bachelor of arts in the year 1630-1, he was chosen fellow of Caius College. But we learn from Mr. Bonney that no evidence of this fact exists in the

³ Ibid., p. xiv.

⁴ Karl R. Wallace, "Rhetorical Exercises in Tudor Education," Quarterly Journal of Speech (1936), XXII, p. 50.

archives of the college and the university.⁵

Shortly after his being admitted to Holy Orders, Taylor was admitted to the rank of master of arts October 20, 1635, in University College, Oxford. It is said that he held the same rank at Cambridge in 1633, but there seems to be little agreement among biographers about whether he actually held this position at Cambridge.⁶

It is important to recognize Jeremy Taylor in public address. Just prior to his receiving the M.A. from Oxford, 1635, Rev. Thomas Ridsden persuaded Taylor to go up to London and preach at St. Pauls'. It is evident that the younger man must already, perhaps in the college chapel, have proved his attitude for public speaking, since at Michaelmas, 1634, he was appointed by the Master to be a praelector in rhetoric. No one had preached in this way since the divine, Dr. John Donne, occupant of that very pulpit, had died three years before.⁷

Taylor was spoken of in high terms before Archbishop Laud who had left the see of London for that of Canterbury. Laud finally sent for Taylor to preach before him at Lambeth, commended his performance and expressed

⁵ Works, I, p. xvi. (Mr. Willmott, in his elegant and engaging biography of Jeremy Taylor, observes that this statement, which Heber rejects, concerning the fellowship at Caius, yet comes from one singularly well qualified to make it; from a member of the same university, the friend and companion of Taylor's later years: and he adduces evidence in support of the statement. But the most full and interesting document on the subject, is a letter which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1855; in which many particulars of Taylor's residence in Cambridge are given; and it is shown that he was a sizar of Caius' College, for nearly two years; then a scholar on the foundation of Dr. Perse, for five years; and lastly, a fellow, for about two years.)

⁶ Ibid., p. xviii.

⁷ Edmund Gosse, Jeremy Taylor (New York, 1904), p. 8.

an objection to the continuance of so young a preacher in London.⁸

A man by the name of Mr. Osborn was about to give over his fellowship at All Souls College and offered Archbishop Laud a nomination of a scholar to succeed him. The recommendation follows:

. . . that he, being willing to recommend such as one as they should thank him for was resolved to pitch on Mr. Jeremiah Taylor; and that he heartily prayed them to give him all furtherance at the next election not doubting that he would approve himself a worthy and learned member of their society.⁹

What authority this Mr. Osborn had, to make this nomination for his vacant fellowship which he was about to leave, or just what influence in an election he would have, after resigning, is not easily understood. Perhaps he had been asked by the other members of the college to make a recommendation for his vacancy. The nomination was finally left to the archbishop who was a visitor to the college. Archbishop Laud acquired the right to appoint Taylor by his sole authority, to that vacant chair which existed, on January 14, 1636.¹⁰

From the time of his appointment to All Souls College, to his being made one of the archbishop's chaplains and to his being presented to the rectory of Uppingham, the following account is given:

⁸ Works, I, p. xvii.

⁹ Ibid., p. xviii.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. xix.

The date he was made one of the archbishop's chaplains, an office which would naturally draw him a good deal away from the scene which he was well adapted to ornament, is not known precisely. Taylor was, on March 23, 1637, presented by Juxon, Bishop of London, to the rectory of Uppingham in Rutlandshire. During this time he is said to have become the object of suspicion, which, undeserved, continued to haunt him in life, of a concealed attachment to the Romish communion.¹¹

At Uppingham, Taylor married Phoebe Landisdale on the 27th of May, 1639. By her, Taylor had three sons. William, the youngest, died at Uppingham on the 28th of May, 1642, and his mother soon after. The other boys grew up to manhood and their melancholy deaths were among the last and most grievous trials of Taylor's eventful life.¹²

Taylor was among the first to join the King at Oxford, in 1642, and became chaplain to the royal army at the time of the outrageous proceedings of the presbyterian party, which resulted in a civil strife.¹³ The next year, 1643, we find Taylor at the close of his youthful years in Wales, again attached to a portion of the royal army, but unfortunately as a conspicuous prisoner.¹⁴

11

Works, I, p. xx. (The following is one support of the reference to his "concealed attachment" to the Romish communion. In the autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A., published by the Cheetham Society, 1852, Vol. II, p. 312, is the account; Some account of the two Turners. These two Turners, Edward and Anthony, were sons to old Mr. Edward Turner, Parson of Little Dalby in Leicestershire. His wife, to his great grief, was perverted, and became a papist several years before she died. Edward, the elder, hath said she told him that Dr. Jer. Taylor, then of Uppingham, did enjoin her penance, and that she saw in his study a little altar with a crucifix upon it. This Edward admitted in St. John's, Cambridge, anno 1643. However Taylor may have enjoined her penance in his own sense of the word without any leaning to popish doctrine or practice of the Romish Church.)

12

Ibid., p. xxiii.

13

Loc. cit.

14

Works, I, p. xxvi.

Life in Wales

Since Taylor was attached to the royal army as a chaplain, it follows that where the army was in the most bitter strife, there would be found Jeremy Taylor. How did Taylor reach Wales? As an obedient follower of Charles I, Taylor accompanied the royal army to Wales. Edmund Gosse records in his life study of Taylor this descriptive message:

In this great storm which hath dashed the vessel of the Church all in pieces, I have been cast upon the coast of Wales, and in a little boat thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which in England in a greater I could not hope for. Here I cast anchor, and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor. And here again I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that He, who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of His waves, and the madness of His people, had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy.¹⁵

Taylor actually followed a small group to Wales to hope for a peaceful section of the country where he might be "content" or "study" as he indicates, but also so that he might remain loyal to the king in what would seem a milder way than that experienced in England, specifically that of London proper. However, peace not being the case, violence followed Taylor and the royal army in Wales.

Taylor's second wife was Mrs. Joanna Bridges of Carmarthen, Wales. Having married, after his first imprisonment, Taylor was compelled to keep school for his subsistence. As his school seems to have been broken up by his repeated imprisonments, his chief support must have been his literary labours and kindness of his numerous friends.

¹⁵ Gosse, p. 32.

Of these friends the most eminent in rank was Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, whose seat at Golden Grove was in the same parish where Taylor's lot was thrown and whose bounty and hospitality during several years appear to have been Taylor's chief dependence and comfort.¹⁶ In the friendship of the Vaughan family Taylor found a happy home. It was within this family and the immediate neighbourhood that, when the churches were closed against his ministry, he delivered his yearly course of sermons.¹⁷ Golden Grove was a large house standing in its own undulating park, on the south side of the tower, but almost a mile from the river. Seventy years later, Dyer describes it as:

Long and level lawn,
On which a dark hill, steep and high,
Holds and charms the wandering eye;
Deep are his feet in Towey's wood;
And ancient towers crown his brow,
That cast an awful look below.¹⁸

It was in Wales, and particularly Golden Grove, where Jeremy Taylor achieved his excellence in literary labor. One work which is preserved from his writing in England previous to this time was Episcopacy Asserted Against the Acephali and Arians, New and Old. This was written when Taylor was Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the king; it did not reach the fame that Life of Christ or The Great Exemplar, written in Wales achieved.

The Great Exemplar directly challenged the kind of popular literature of the middle 17th century. At this time people preferred their books of entertainment to be of immense length. The kind of popular literature which Jeremy

16 Works, I, pp. xxxv-vi.

17 Ibid., p. xxxvii.

18 Gosse, p. 66.

Taylor directly challenged in The Great Exemplar was the heroic novel recently introduced from France.¹⁹

The extensive popularity of the previously mentioned work determined the character of more popular or practical writings at Golden Grove which were a Sermon on Death of the Excellent Lady Carbery, a short Catechism for Children, his twenty-seven Sermons for the Summer Half Year, and Holy Living and Dying, the last two of which had been composed at the desire and for the use of his late patroness, and are inscribed to her afflicted husband.²⁰

Controversy was not entirely avoided, for in 1654 the insulting triumph of some Roman Catholics over the fallen condition of the English Church provoked Taylor to re-examine the leading points of difference between the two communions, and caused him to write The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament Proved Against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. Taylor now published, with a preface, The Golden Grove which though ostensibly calculated to conciliate the Protector in favour of the persecuted Church of England, as friendly to established governments and more particularly to monarchy, contained many expressions which were likely to provoke to the utmost extent both the Presbyterian and Independent clergy, and other expressions which Cromwell himself might reasonably conceive insidious or insulting. He was accordingly committed to prison; in what month or place he was imprisoned is not known. The whole knowledge of the matter is derived from a letter from the amiable John Evelyn of Sayes Court, dated February 9, 1654, in which the writer expresses the anxiety which he had felt on the news of his friend's calamity.²¹

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 61.

²⁰ Works, I, p. xxxviii.

²¹ Works, I, pp. xxxviii-ix.

John Evelyn to Jeremy Taylor
 Sayes-Court, 9th Febr., 1654-5

The calamity which lately arrived you, came to me so late and with so much incertitude during my long absence from these parts, that till my return, and earnest inquisition, I could not be cured of my very great impatience to be satisfied concerning your condition. Be so it pleased God, that when I had prepared that sad news, to deplore your restraint²²

The cause of this imprisonment has been doubtful, but it might have been, as Evelyn implies in this letter, in consequence of Taylor's attack on the Puritan preachers in the preface to his collection of prayers called the Golden Grove. The latter was the name of Lord Carbery's seat where Taylor was obliged to take refuge. Later, Taylor again suffered brief imprisonment in Chepstow Castle, during his well-known controversy with Bishop Warner, having been suspected as an insigator of the insurrection at Salisbury.²³

When and under what circumstances Taylor's acquaintance with Evelyn had commenced, does not appear. Evelyn speaks of himself as one of Taylor's auditors in a church in the city on the 15th of April, 1654, but with no indication that he was at that time particularly interested in him. During the spring, however, the acquaintance was improved into a nearer and more confidential intimacy.²⁴

Neither imprisonment nor poverty had power to cramp the fertility of Taylor's genius. Besides completing his Series of Sermons for the whole year with the addition of the twenty-five discourses which, though last published,

²² John Evelyn, Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S., ed. William Bray, London, 1950, p. 565. (From the original mss. at Wotton.) --hereafter cited as Correspondence.

²³ Loc. cit. (Notes by the editor, William Bray.)

²⁴ Works, I, p. xxxix.

stand first in the volume, he produced the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance.

Our knowledge of the remaining important years in Wales and the early years in Ireland is dependent much on the correspondence and the diary of John Evelyn. Taylor's feeling for King Charles I is revealed by his letter to Evelyn: "Sir, I thank you for imparting to me the death of the dear departed saint. I shed a tear when I am told that a brave king was misunderstood, then slandered, then imprisoned, then put to death by evil men."²⁵

In his time of stress and torment, Taylor writes confidentially to Evelyn about deaths in the family. The exchange of correspondence not only indicates that the two men were able to confide in one another during unfortunate periods of their life but suggests that their friendship depended on contact--that by knowing and sharing all of life's problems with one another there grew a friendship which was the most important during Jeremy Taylor's lifetime. Parts of those letters which concern death in the family follow:

Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn

22 Feb., 1656

Dear Sir,--I know you will either excuse, or acquit, or at least pardon me that I have so long seemingly neglected to make a return to your so kind and friendly letter: when I shall tell you that I have passed through a great cloud which hath wetted me deeper than the skin. It hath pleased God to send the small pox and fevers among my children: and I have, since received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boys; and I have now but one son left, whom I intend to bring up to London before Easter . . .²⁶

²⁵ Correspondence, p. 567.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 578.

Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn

July 19th, 1656

Dear Sir, I am in some little disorder by reason of the death of a little child of mine, a boy that lately made us very glad: but now he rejoices in his little orb, while we think, and sigh, and long to be as safe as he is.²⁷

The above two parts of letters indicate that Taylor had three sons by his second wife, whereas some sources indicate he had three daughters. There is no sure evidence of either only that perhaps the diary and correspondence of Evelyn is most reliable if a choice must be made. We at least know there were three youngsters lost by Taylor and his wife, which was not only difficult, but particularly strenuous at this unsettled period prior to departure for Ireland.

An example of John Evelyn's indebtedness and confidence in Jeremy Taylor is revealed in Evelyn's Diary as follows:

Febr 18, 1655.

Went to London, on purpose to hear that excellent preacher, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, on Matt. xiv. 17, On the 31st, I made a visit to Dr. J. T., to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father.²⁸

Since there is some disagreement when Jeremy Taylor went to Ireland, even though the date of his being consecrated bishop in 1660 is known, the following indicates that he was in Ireland in 1659:

Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn

Portmore, Feb 10, 1659

Honoured and Dear Sir,--I received yours of Dec. 2, in very good time; but although it came to me before Christmas, yet it pleased God about that time to lay His gentle hand upon me; for I had been in the worst of our winter weather sent for to Dublin by our late Anabaptist commissioners²⁹

²⁷ Ibid., p. 570.

²⁸ John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, ed., William Bray, London, I, p. 309.

²⁹ Correspondence, p. 596.

Finally, Taylor's last letter to John Evelyn is recorded. Even though many unfortunate circumstances prevailed in Wales, this was the period when Taylor reached the excellence in writing for which he shall best be remembered. It seems reasonable to attribute some of his success in writing to friends like John Evelyn, since Taylor confided in him not only on personal matters but also concerning manuscripts as well. Parts of the last letter recorded follows:

To John Evelyn, Esquire.

Dublin, Novemb. 16, 1661.

Deare S^r,

Your owne worthinesse and y^e obligations you have so often pass'd upon me have imprinted in me so great a value and kindnesse to y^r person, that I thinke my selfe not a little concerned in your selfe and all your relations, and all the great accidents of y^r life S^r, I am so full of publicke concernes and the troubles of businesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful imployment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, and then I may returne againe S^r, I pray let me heare from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still³⁰

Retirement in Ireland

Whether Jeremy Taylor went from Wales directly to Ireland or from Wales to England for a short time and finally to Ireland is not known. Bolton suggests that Taylor was in London for a short time between his leaving Wales

³⁰ Works, I, pp. xvii-viii. (The "old delightful imployment" seems to refer to the time in Wales when Taylor was writing and had much association with Evelyn.)

and his arriving in Ireland. An account of three English Divines is recorded:

Meanwhile, three sequestered English Divines who later became Bishops in Ireland, George Wilde, Robert Mosson, and Jeremy Taylor, were ministering to private congregations of Royalists in London.³¹

Lord Conway of Ireland was trying to find a clergyman for his Irish estate; he found what Taylor was doing in London, ministering to private congregations, was what he needed at Portmore. Nicolson points out new material she discovered as follows:

In 1657 and 1658 Lord Conway was seeking a man to do for the small group of English Royalists about his Irish estate at Portmore exactly what Taylor was doing in London.³²

Both Heber and Gosse take for granted that it was John Evelyn who was primarily responsible for Taylor's original appointment in Ireland, and that it was he who first recommended him to Lord Conway. While that may be true, the suggestion in the early letters of the Conway family is rather that the first notion to Conway about Taylor came through their mutual friend, Henry More.³³ If we are to follow the material presented by Heber and Gosse, it seems that Taylor went from Wales to Ireland; however Bolton and later Nicolson present substantial information to conclude that Taylor left Wales, spent a short time in England, and finally went to Ireland.

Unpublished letters concerning members of the Conway family during the 17th century refer to Taylor; these reveal interesting and helpful information about Taylor. Not only were casual remarks fairly frequent, but at least two

³¹ Frederick R. Bolton, The Caroline Tradition of the Church of Ireland, London, 1958, p. 24. (Bolton records that Taylor left Wales early in 1657, and returned to England before leaving for Ireland.)

³² Marjorie Nicolson, "New Material on Jeremy Taylor," Philological Quarterly (October, 1929) VIII, p. 323.

³³ Ibid., p. 322.

letters in the series were devoted to Taylor almost exclusively. Fortunately, the three periods upon which the letters threw light were the very periods about which there is scanty or contradictory information: the first documents concerned the circumstances of Taylor's first appointment in Ireland; the second, the trials which he underwent there; and the third, his illness, death and burial.³⁴

What prompted Jeremy Taylor to go to Ireland? It is said that agitation at the Council Table in London, December 22, 1657, against the joint ministry of Mr. Gunning and Dr. Taylor, and the Christmas Day raid while Mr. Gunning was administering the Sacrament of the Holy Communion may have hastened Taylor's decision to embrace Conway's offer.³⁵

The local tradition, however, that Jeremy Taylor preached in Lisnegarvey and neighboring churches cannot reach beyond the autumn of 1660; there is no evidence that Taylor exercised any public ministry in Ireland before his appointment as Bishop of Down and Connor.³⁶

How could an Anglican Priest or bishop be transported to the Church of Ireland and maintain ecclesiastical episcopacy that Taylor asserted earlier in his life? Broadly speaking, the Church of Ireland, from the 12th century adopted the liturgical use of the Church of England. The Synod of Cashel in 1172, decreed that "all sacred offices be henceforth performed everywhere in Ireland according to the usages of the Holy Church as observed in the Church of England (ecclesia Anglicana)."³⁷

³⁴ Nicolson, p. 321.

³⁵ Bolton, p. 26.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

³⁷ Bolton, p. 139.

It was not long after Jeremy Taylor was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor in 1660, that he became recognized in Ireland. His sermons, preached at the opening of Parliament on the 8th of May, 1661, received the thanks of both Houses and their publication was ordered. He was praised as the finest orator in Ireland at that time.³⁸

In 1661, Jeremy Taylor, in his Rules and Advices to the Clergy of Down and Connor, reminded them that every minister is obliged publicly or privately to read the common prayers every day of the week at morning and evening. He further insisted that in great towns and populous places conveniently inhabited, it must be read in churches so that the daily sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving may never cease. His diligence is reverberated in his relationship with the clergy of his see.³⁹

With the favorable aspects of Taylor's bishopric also came the never ceasing struggle against the Presbyterians.⁴⁰ Taylor asked to be relieved of the situation by moving to another see if the archbishop had such a place for him. It seems that Jeremy Taylor cannot be blamed for wanting to move to another diocese because of his age; for the time he had spent in Ireland, surely his retiring years could be more rewarding to his see and to him in another locale. The bishop wrote:

They, the Presbyterians, threaten to murder me. They use all arts they can to disgrace me, and to take the people's hearts from me, and make my life uncomfortable and useless to the service of his Majesty and the Church It were better for me to be a poor curate in a village church than a bishop over such intolerable persons; and I will petition your Excellence to give me some parsonage in Munster, that I may end my days in peace, rather than

³⁸ Gosse, p. 188.

³⁹ Bolton, p. 194.

⁴⁰ Nicolson, p. 331.

abide here, unless I may be enabled with comfort to contest against such violent persons My charge hath in it more trouble than all the dioceses in his Majesty's dominions put together.⁴¹

Jeremy Taylor was attacked by a fever, on the third day of August, 1667, at Lisburn, where he appears during the latter part of his life to have often occasionally resided; he died after a ten days' sickness, in the seventh year of his episcopacy, at the age of 54 years. Taylor's remains were removed to Down, to the church of which he had been a liberal benefactor. Dr. George Rust, his friend and successor in that see, recalled Taylor's style and accomplishments, and continued his work. Of Taylor's life, both affection and admiration are said to have waited on him in Oxford; in Wales, amid mutual irritation and hostility we find him conciliating the favour of his keepers and at the same time we see him preserved in the confidence and esteem of the royal army; in Ireland the same genius, who lived and died with so much praise and so little censure, is now remembered.⁴²

At the time of Jeremy Taylor's death, no monument was erected to his memory; however in 1827, Bishop Mant and the clergy of Down and Connor wrote an epitaph which was a tablet placed in the cathedral church of Lisburn.⁴³

⁴¹ Gosse, p. 174.

⁴² Works, I, pp. cxx-xxiii.

⁴³ Ibid., p. cxx.

On that tablet was inscribed:

Not to Perpetuate the Memory of One
 Whose Works Will Be His Most Enduring Memorial,
 But that There May Not Be Wanting
 A Public Testimony to His Memory in the Diocese
 Which Derives Honour From His Superintendence,
 This Tablet is Inscribed with the Name of
 JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.
 Who on the Restoration in MDCLX
 Of the British Church and Monarchy,
 In the Fall of Which He Had Partaken,
 Having Been Promoted to the Bishoprick
 of Down and Connor,
 And Having Presided for Seven Years in that See;
 As Also Over the Adjoining Diocese of Dromore,
 Which was soon after instructed to his care
 "On account of His Virtue, Wisdom, and Industry;"
 Died at Lisburn, Aug. 13, MCDLXVII,
 In the 55th Year of His Age;
 Leaving Behind Him a Renown,
 Second to that of None of the Illustrious Sons
 Whom the Anglican Church
 Rich in Worthies Hath Brought Forth:
 As a Bishop Distinguished
 For munificence and Vigilance Truly Episcopal,
 As a Theologian, For Piety the Most Ardent,
 Learning the Most Extensive and Eloquence Inimitable;
 In his writings a Persuasive Guide
 To Earnestness of Devotion, Uprightness of Practice,
 And Christian Forbearance and Toleration;
 A Powerful Assertor of Episcopal Government
 And Liturgical Worship,
 And an Able Exposer of the Errors
 Of Holy Living and Holy Dying,
 And a follower of the great exemplar of sanctity,
 As portrayed By Him in the Person
 Of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.
 Reader, though it Fall not to thy Lot
 To attain the Intellectual Excellence
 Of this master in Israel,
 Thou mayest Rival him in that
 Which was the Highest Scope Even of his Ambition
 An Honest Conscience and a Christian Life.⁴⁴

Jeremy Taylor produced many important writings in his time which not only reflected him as a writer but also reflected the parish, the diocese, the Church, the Anglican tradition, the whole state of Christ's Church.

⁴⁴ Works, I, p. cxxi.

It appears as though his summary of life was a culmination of a virtuous, wise and industrious life of religion and theology. In Liberty of Propheying, Taylor specifically writes a precise concept of his philosophy of life as:

The way to judge of religion is by doing of our duty: and theology is rather a divine life than a divine knowledge. In heaven indeed we shall first see, and then love; but here on earth we must first love, and love will open our eyes as well as our hearts; and we shall then see, and perceive, and understand.⁴⁵

17th Century Church of England

The Elizabethan church of the 16th century, which, often hastily is attributed to Henry VIII, involved not only a religious movement, but a political movement as well. With the people of England there were noticeable effects reflected in art, literature, music, religion, politics, and almost any segment of the culture or the life in England. The divine right of the head of the state, being the head of the church of that state, was carried through the 17th Century Church of England with which we are most concerned. It is necessary to point out that, according to many scholars, the founder of the Church of England was the founder of the Christian Church who was Jesus Christ, and that the Church of England did not form at the abrupt period of the protestant reformation of the 16th century. The Church of England was probably well established from the 5th century when St. Augustine was sent as a missionary to England. Therefore the Church of England maintained the apostolic succession of the Christian Church, but at the point in the 16th century withdrew from the popish doctrine that the pope's see in Rome should be in control or direction of all the sees of the Church. With this brief introduction

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. cxii.

it is well to turn to Dowden and Gest for their comments concerning the position of the 17th century literature of England.

Literature, and especially what is most valuable in seventeenth century literature in England, cannot be studied without reference to the history of the Christian religion.⁴⁶

The seventeenth century is particularly well known in England for the specific new and old concepts, of the search for the new and yet the traditional reflections of the old.

. . . the seventeenth century in England was an age of new forces contending with the old. On the one hand there was a search and passion for truth and freedom; on the other a loyalty to tradition and a reverence for authority.⁴⁷

In the mental confusion which resulted from the conflict between science and religion, some found a safe retreat in mysticism, where the individual could depend upon the personal experiences of religious ecstasy instead of upon the evidence of his senses. In contrast with the disturbances of faith by science was the increased knowledge of the Bible and interest in religious thought resulting from the publication of the King James Version in 1611. The way in which the Biblical phraseology and ideas permeated the thought of the entire century is revealed by the literature of the period. "It molds the style of many of the writers in prose, accounting for the sonorous tones of Sir Thomas Browne, Jeremy Taylor, and John Milton"⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Edward Dowden, Puritan and Anglican: Studies in Literature, New York, 1901, p. viii.

⁴⁷ Margaret Gest, The House of Understanding, Philadelphia, 1954, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Roberta F. Brinkley, ed., English Poetry of the Seventeenth Century, New York, 1936, pp. 2-5.

Within the Anglican Communion or the Church of England, there are in the seventeenth century three specific groups, all supposedly claiming association with Anglicanism, but with noticeable differences--the Anglo Catholics, the Anglicans, and the Puritans.

Anglo Catholicism. Anglicanism appealed to two types of men in the seventeenth century--those who were attached to the old system and found that the Church of England, in rejecting the abuses of the Middle Ages, had retained all that was necessary to the maintenance of its right to be called a branch of the Catholic Church, and those who were devoted to the scriptural teaching of the reformers, yet found nothing inconsistent with it in the Anglican settlement. The former is the one with which we are at present concerned. The Anglo Catholic minded maintained that the visible church had been a constant witness to the teaching of the Lord and his Apostles and had never, despite the abuses which had crept in, relaxed its hold on certain fundamental truths.⁴⁹

Bolton interprets Jeremy Taylor's feelings on apostolic succession as those disciples who were of equal power and position as Christ had given to all of them.

The apostles governed all and exercised a common jurisdiction, and that in the whole new test, there is not act or sign of superiority, or that one apostle exercised power over another; but to them that Christ sent, He in common entrusted the Church of God.⁵⁰

As a matter of fact, Taylor in his Episcopacy Asserted indicates his understanding quite clearly on the matter of the positions of the apostles:

Here are plainly two offices of ecclesiastical ministries, apostles and presbyters; so the scripture calls them: these

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F. J. Foakes Jackson, Anglican Church Principles, New York, 1924, pp. 124-5.

⁵⁰

Bolton, p. 69.

were distinct, and not temporary, but succeeded to; and if so, then here is clearly a divine institution of two orders, and yet deacons neither of them. The case is known, Acts VI. The apostles called the disciples, willing them to choose seven men whom they might constitute in the ministration and oversight of the poor. The apostles did impose hands for confirmation of baptized people, and this was a perpetual act of a power to be succeeded to and yet not communicated, nor executed by the seventy two or any other mere presbyter.⁵¹

In other words, apostolic succession or episcopacy was just one of the major considerations to the Anglo Catholic mind who claimed the Church was the continuance of the old Church with the exception it was purified from its corruptions. In Archbishop Laud's memorable words, the religion before and after the Reformation was "like Naaman before and after his cure." But it was "the Same Naaman, leprous with them (the Romanists), cleansed with us (the Anglicans)." The Anglo Catholics were sure their Church was a return or continuation of the primitive Christianity of the first five centuries and that it was based on Scripture, the Old Testament, the Apochrypha, and the New Testament, the Creeds, the Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and the Apostles' Creed, and the first four Councils, that is, of Nicaea, 325, of Constantinople, 381, of Ephesus, 431, and of Chalcedon, 451. They were ready to accept the sacrificial doctrine of the Eucharist, but not at the price of acknowledging the comparatively modern dogma of Transubstantiation. The first Anglo Catholics or High Churchmen as they were often called were prevented by loyalty to their own position from any tendency Rome-wards. Because the Roman controversialists, headed by a cardinal, denied that the English Church was Catholic and maintained that the Sovereign might be deposed by his subjects, Churchmen under the Stuarts became almost fanatically loyal. In James I and

⁵¹ "Episcopacy Asserted," Works, V, pp. 25-8.

and Charles I they found kings who understood and appreciated their position, and proved ready to defend them against their enemies, the Puritans. The divine right of the King of England was asserted in order to destroy the claims of the Pope to rule in God's name. The mark of High Churchmanship throughout the seventeenth century was loyalty to the king, who ruled by hereditary right.⁵²

An early great High Churchman, Launcelot Andrewes, was Master of Pembroke College, later Dean of Westminster, and finally Bishop of Winchester. He set the example of restoring the churches to their former state of peace. Puritanism had made worship "somewhat distasteful and often irreverent." The churches were falling into decay, the Prayer Book services were raced through with haste before a preacher appeared, and nothing seemed to matter but the sermon. Andrewes, as dean, made the service at Westminster an example of what decent worship should be, and as a bishop he did the same in his cathedrals and private chapels.⁵³

Very different in character was Andrewes' friend and admirer, William Laud, the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury, who shared his church views. Laud provided a decent and dignified ceremonial in the form of worship with an intense belief in the catholicity of the Church of England. The following account recalls what he did, in part:

He placed the Holy Table alterwise and railed it in to prevent desecration; he insisted on the custom of bowing at the name of Jesus, and genuflecting on entering the church; and he repressed as illegal all attempts to Puritanise the worship. The main tenet of the Laudian school was the insistence on the divine right of kings.⁵⁴

⁵² Jackson, pp. 125-6.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 127.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 128.

Bush, in his studies of the early seventeenth century preachers of the Church of England, indicates that the four which were most significant to that period were Thomas Adams, Lancelot Andrewes, John Donne, and Jeremy Taylor.⁵⁵

No new church was made by the Anglo Catholics at the time of the reformation. The Church of England's position is that all the essentials of faith and worship received by the ancestors were kept, that is, the same creeds, the same God, the Holy Trinity, and the same Holy Baptism and Holy Eucharist. The people were governed by the same Bishops and Governors before and after the Reformation.⁵⁶

Anglicanism. To those who were devoted to the scriptural teaching of the reformers, yet found nothing inconsistent with the Anglican settlement mentioned in a distinction or clarification of the Anglo Catholics, were the Anglicans who shall be discussed in this section. The Evangelical party or Puritanism shall be discussed later and should not be confused with the distinction at this point.

Anglicanism may be defined as an attempt to settle the prevailing religious disputes in England in such a way as to satisfy the Protestant party by its respect for Scripture and the Catholic party by its regard for tradition. The Catholic Anglican saw the religion in a continuation of the old faith, whereas the Protestant Anglican saw it in a new interpretation of the Scripture. A third section, Puritans, welcomed it as allowing more liberty of thought than any form of Christianity had previously provided.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, Oxford, 1948, p. 298.

⁵⁶ Bolton, p. 56.

⁵⁷ Jackson, pp. 122-3.

The best method of arriving at an understanding of Anglicanism is to make up one's mind by the light of the Prayer Book of what sort the religious life would be that was lived in strict obedience to its injunctions by a devout person, lay or clerical, who had been brought up under the old religion. The calendar or Christian year was much the same in the seventeenth century as it had been, so far as its holidays were concerned, and the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels were also the same. Every priest was bound to recite the daily Morning or Evening Prayers, in which the canticles, responses, psalms, and prayers, were all those he had formerly used in the Breviary. The stone altars had been destroyed and removed, but the images of saints, the carved representation of their doings, and the matchless stained glass still remained.⁵⁸

All the additions to devotion in the Middle Ages that could be, after the rejection of many that were unscriptural and superstitious, were retained in the face of bitter opposition on the part of the Protestant enthusiasts. The irreconcilable difference between the old and the new regime lay in the theory, rather than in the doctrine, of the Eucharist, the center of Christian devotion. Protestants, it is true, found the dogma of Transubstantiation an abomination, because it implied a priestly miracle, and connoted the adoration of the consecrated elements. But in so far as a Presence of some sort was taught in the Lord's words "This is my Body" and "This is my Blood," such extreme opponents as Cardinal Pole, of the Church of Rome, and Bishop Ridley, of the Church of England, were practically in agreement. In the matter of celebration of the Sacrament, one has only to place in Latin side by side the Divine Liturgy, according to the Roman and Anglican rites, omitting all the rubrics,

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 119.

to note their similarity. It is the ritual action, more than the words, which made them so different, as is now seen when a priest recites the words of the Prayer Book, with the actions prescribed by the Missal which the Puritans imply was also done in the days of Elizabeth. The occasional Offices, Holy Baptism, the Solemnization of Holy Matrimony, Burial of the Dead, and other services kept all that had been required before the Reformation. The whole design of Anglicanism is to make sure that a Catholic minded Christian shall lack nothing necessary to his spiritual satisfaction, while nothing which a Protestant can reasonably condemn as superstitious or unscriptural is retained.⁵⁹

Variations among Anglicans on such issues, as the altar, the Holy Communion, the use of wafers and wine, the Book of Common Prayer, and vestments, are complete studies within themselves. It is well to note, that among the many Protestants and Catholics, the seventeenth century with its controversy still upheld the Church of England, whose founder was Jesus Christ. It seems that if there is any conclusion which can be made of the matter, a deity not a man was directing the Church.

With an Anglican of the seventeenth century, there was sometimes a title of Low Churchman associated with him, that is, in contrast to the High Churchman or Anglo Catholic and the Evangelical or Puritan. If this be legitimate and Andrewes is considered the first real High Churchman, then the first Low Churchman was his contemporary, Abbot. This is possible if a Low Churchman may be defined as one to whom it is of the first importance that the Church shall be an institution more in sympathy with Protestantism than Catholicism, while its dignity and antiquity is to him a matter of indifference. Low Church-

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 120-1.

manship was not an attractive type of Christianity. It lacked the stern righteousness of Puritanism, and the romantic piety of the Churchmen of the Jacobean age. Its virtues were eminently those of common sense politicians, with practical rather than spiritual ends in view, and its one achievement was that it gave to England the period of materialistic peace that the country so much needed after the distracting clash of factions in the Great Rebellion, the Restoration, and the Revolution.⁶⁰

Puritanism. The first period in the history of Puritanism includes the time from the accession of Elizabeth I, (1558), to 1570, during which the retention of superstitious ceremonies in the church had been the sole avowed ground of complaint. But when these obnoxious rites came to be enforced with unsparing rigor, and even those who voluntarily renounced the temporal advantages of the establishment were hunted from their private conventicles, they began to consider the national system of ecclesiastical regime as itself in fault, and to transfer to the institution of episcopacy that dislike which they felt for some of the prelates. The ostensible founder of this new school, though probably its tenets were by no means new to many of the sect, was Thomas Cartwright, the Lady Margaret's professor of divinity at Cambridge. He began about 1570 to inculcate the unlawfulness of any form of church government except what the apostles had instituted, the presbyterian. In 1572, he published his celebrated Admonition to the Parliament, calling on that assembly to reform the various abuses subsisting in the church.⁶¹

Even though this is, by time, thirty years prior to the opening of the seventeenth century with which we are concerned, it is most helpful to examine

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 141.

⁶¹ Henry Hallam, The Constitutional History of England, New York, 1865, I, p. 189.

the historical significance from which Puritanism evolved. It is well to recall that soon after its re-establishment, the Church of England had been split by the Puritans, as the Low Churchmen were originally called who thought the High Church was inclined to Rome.⁶²

The Puritan spirit existed before the Reformation and survived its own doctrines. The Puritans had no sympathy with customs of life or thought which they felt different from their own. Impatient of authority, their one ambition was to exercise it over other; and they were prepared to allow no one to be free but themselves. Taking the Scriptures, and especially those of the Old Testament, the Puritan's object was to build in England a polity resembling an ideal Israel under the moral law; his complaint against the older Roman system was not that it was intolerably severe but that it was not stern. His ideal was a godly discipline, rigidly and impartially enforced, repressive of all the natural, and for this reason sinful, impulses of humanity. Such men were no Separatists or opponents of a national Church establishment; to depart into the wilderness and leave the rest of mankind to go to perdition in its own way formed no part of their program. What the Puritans had in mind was to make every Englishman submit to their government, and to remodel society as a whole on what they deemed to be a scriptural basis. They could not reconcile it to their conscience to make any allowance for those who had been under the influences of the older faith or for the grave political necessities of the Queen and her advisors. They demanded the right to dictate their own terms without reference to their feasibility or convenience, and to refuse any compromise with what they considered to be errors in practice, let alone in faith. This was

⁶² Gest, p. 9.

Puritanism in its worst aspect. That there was a nobler side is undeniable.⁶³

It is hardly possible on the affirmative side of Puritanism to exaggerate the importance of the sermon in the seventeenth century world, for a preaching ministry was one of the Puritans' greatest ends. As a matter of fact, the Puritans sacrificed lengthy liturgy at times or in other words neglected to use the liturgy at all for the sake of hearing lengthy sermons. Other times, as has been previously stated, the liturgy was said with such rapidity that no one could understand or comprehend "with any measure;" therefore the aim of the 17th century Puritan was to get to the sermon.⁶⁴

Puritanism was to be recognised as representative of the nation in periods of the sixteenth century; it even became dominant at times during that century, but it was detested during the earlier part of the seventeenth century, the period with which this study is most concerned.

⁶⁴ Bush, p. 296.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE SUMMER HALF YEAR SERMONS

Unity of Form

The Summer Half Year Sermons, one half of A Yearly Course, by Jeremy Taylor, first published in 1651, has a distinctness in arrangement which is not readily noticed on the initial reading of his sermons.

First of all, by number, there are twenty-seven sermons, which are not full discourses in themselves but whose purpose it was to have a sermon for each of the twenty-seven Sundays from Whitsunday, or the Feast of Pentecost, to the Twenty-Fifth Sunday after Trinity. Since these twenty-seven sermons were only parts of full-length discourses, it should be stated that there are twelve full-length sermons in his Summer Half Year Sermons. For instance Sermon Number I and Sermon Number II were Part I and Part II consecutively of a whole sermon titled "Of the Spirit of Grace." For four full length sermons, Taylor follows this pattern of two parts, two sermons; he continues to use this method in full-length sermons six, seven, eight, nine, and eleven. The fifth full-length sermon is divided into three parts. Sermon Number IX, Sermon Number X, and Sermon Number XI were Part I, Part II, and Part III consecutively of a whole sermon titled "The Faith and Patience of the Saints." Taylor uses this pattern of three parts, three sermons, in full-length sermons five, ten, and twelve. To summarize and clarify the twelve sermons in complete full-length presentation as Jeremy Taylor intended, it was found that complete sermons one, two, three, four, six, seven, eight, nine, and eleven followed the pattern of two parts, two sermons which make the entire discourse complete. It was found further that complete sermons five, ten, and twelve followed the pattern of three parts, three sermons which make the entire discourse complete. It is noticed, then, that of those twelve full-length sermons,

nine are composed of two parts (or two sermons); three are composed of three parts (or three sermons). Twelve is a common number used in the Christian tradition; a good example of the use of this number is the twelve apostles of Christ. Whether Taylor consciously used the number twelve is not known.

Even though this information is valuable to understand better Taylor's arrangement of his discourses, since three fourths of the twelve complete writings were divided into two major sermons, more pointed is the knowledge of his major and minor divisions.

Major Divisions. In the Summer Half Year Sermons, Taylor uses two main symbols to divide his work--one, the Roman numeral and two, the Arabic numeral. It should be further observed that in these sermons Taylor uses number figures denoting a division, seldom letters of the alphabet, upper or lower case. Of the twelve complete sermons or discourses, nine sermons employ the use of the major division designations or the Roman numerals, and three sermons do not. Four sermons use two major divisions, I and II; four sermons use three major divisions, I, II, and III; and one sermon uses four major divisions, I, II, III, and IV.

Those full-length sermons which use two main divisions are Sermons One, "Of the Spirit of Grace," Four, "The Deceitfulness of the heart", Five, "The Faith and Patience of the Saints," and Eight, "Of Growth in Sin." For example in Complete Sermon One, the two major divisions are:

- I. All that belong to Christ have the Spirit of Christ, and
- II. As soon as the tyrant of sin is overcome, and a new heart is put into us, or that we serve under a new head, instantly we have a new name given us, and we are esteemed a new creation.

In Complete Sermon Four, the two major divisions are:

- I. The heart is deceitful in its strength, and
- II. It is the beginning of wisdom to know a man's own weaknesses and failings in things of great necessity.

In Complete Sermon Five, the two major divisions are:

- I. The state of the gospel is a state of sufferings, not of temporal prosperities, and
- II. It follows now that we enquire concerning the reasons of the Divine providence in this administration of affairs, so far as He hath been pleased to draw aside the curtain, and to unfold the leaves of His counsels and predestination.

In Complete Sermon Eight, the two major divisions are:

- I. Of some (sins), have compassion, and
- II. Some sins there are which in their own nature are damnable, and some are such as will certainly bring a man to damnation.

Those complete sermons which use three main divisions are Sermons Three, "Invalidity of a Late or Death-bed Repentance," Six, "The Mercy of the Divine Judgments," Seven, "Of Growth in Grace, with its Proper Instruments and Signs," and Nine, "The Foolish Exchange." For example in Complete Sermon Three the three major divisions are:

- I. First, that repentance is not only an abolition and extinction of the body of sin, a bringing it to the altar, and slaying it before God and all the people; but that we must also mingle gold and rich presents, the oblation of good works and holy habits with the sacrifice,
- II. The second general consideration is, the necessity, the absolute necessity, of holy and living, and
- III. Lastly; our last enquiry is into the time, the last or latest time of beginning our repentance.

In Complete Sermon Six the three major divisions are:

- I. The first great instrument that God chooses to bring us to Him is profit or benefit,
- II. Forbearance, as it is called in the text, that is, when divine judgments are gone out they are either wholly to suspend the execution or ease His judgment, and
- III. Long-suffering--In this one word are contained all the treasures of the Divine goodness; here is the length and extension of His mercy.

In Complete Sermon Seven the three major divisions are:

- I. Concerning the state of grace, I consider that no man can be said to be in the state of grace who retains an affection to any one sin,
- II. Reckon the commencement of this precept, "Grow in grace, so that a man can grow in grace to no other purpose but to these or the like improvements.

In Complete Sermon Nine the three major divisions are:

- I. Suppose a man gets all the world, what is it that he gets?,
- II. For if we consider in the second place how much every man is likely to get really, and how much it is possible for any man to get, we shall find the account far shorter yet, and the purchase most trifling and inconsiderable, and
- III. That you take care lest for the purchase of a little, trifling, inconsiderable portion of the world, you come into this place and state of torment.

After studying the twelve complete sermons Taylor titles Summer Half Year, this writer feels that the unity of form apparent in the major divisions of those sermons requires further analysis and study. Eight of the twelve sermons Taylor wrote indicate that in form and structure he used consistently two methods in the major divisions of the sermons: (1) four of the sermons have two major divisions, and (2) four of the sermons have three major divisions. This does not seem to be coincidental; it seems to suggest an underlying method which Taylor puts to use. These eight of the twelve complete sermons will constitute the remainder of the study.

Minor Divisions. The Arabic numbers, which divide the major division into minor parts or segments in the eight sermons analyzed, indicate that the first sub-divisions are in numbers of two, three, four, five, six, and eleven. Two minor divisions occur four times, three minor divisions occur five times, four minor divisions occur seven times, five minor divisions occur once, six minor divisions occur once, and eleven minor divisions occur once in the eight complete sermons.

For example, three minor divisions occur in Sermon One, "Of the Spirit of

Grace," in Sermon Three, "The Invalidity of a Late or Death-Bed Repentance," in Sermon Six, "The Mercy of the Divine Judgments," and in Sermon Nine, "The Foolish Exchange."

Four minor divisions occur in five of the eight complete sermons, those being the exception were Sermon Five, "The Faith and Patience of the Saints," Sermon Six, "The Mercy of the Divine Judgments," and Sermon Nine, "The Foolish Exchange."

Since three and four minor divisions were mostly commonly used by Taylor in his first sub-division in the sermons, it was recognized that either one or the other, not necessarily both, was used in all of the eight complete sermons one or more times except Sermon Five, "The Faith and Patience of the Saints."

Further sub-divisions, it was found, have not indicated any consistency or unity on the part of Taylor's form and structure. The content of the form and structure, major and minor divisions, employed by Jeremy Taylor in his eight sermons included in this analysis follow.¹

COMPLETE SERMON I

OF THE SPIRIT OF GRACE

MAJOR AND MINOR DIVISIONS OF SERMON I. II.

(Part One)

1. The gospel is called the Spirit because it contains such glorious mysteries which were revealed by the Spirit.
2. We could not by any human power have understood them unless the Spirit of God had given us a new light.
3. The gospel is called Spirit because it consists of spiritual promises and spiritual precepts.
4. The gospel is called the Spirit because God hath given the Spirit of confirmation to all them that believe and obey.

¹ "Summer Half Year Sermons, "Works, IV, pp. 331-572.--The content and form of the outlines used in the illustrations are taken directly from the eight complete sermons.

- I. All that belong to Christ have the Spirit of Christ.
1. God gave us His spirit that we might be insensible of worldly pleasures.
 2. The Spirit of God is given to all who truly belong to Christ.

(Part Two)

3. The Spirit of God is given to us as an antidote against evil concupiscences and sinful desires.
 1. Christians pray in their spirit.
 2. The Spirit helpeth our infirmities.
 3. Every wise and good man is instructed in the scriptures.
 4. The Spirit of God hath made our services to be spiritual, intellectual, holy, and effects of choice and religion.
 5. The Spirit gives us great relish and appetite to our prayers.
 6. The Spirit of Christ helps our infirmities by giving us confidence.
 7. The forms taught by the Spirit were patterns for others to imitate in all the decending ages.

- II. By the arts of the spirits of darkness and our own malice our souls are turned into flesh, not in the natural sense but in the moral and theological.

1. No great sin is a sin of infirmity, or excusable upon that stock.
2. Sins of infirmity put on their degree of excusableness only according to the weakness of a man's understanding.
3. The strength of a temptation is not sufficient to excuse an action upon the stock of a pitiable and innocent infirmity.
4. No habitual sin that returns constantly is excusable with a pretence of infirmity.

COMPLETE SERMON IV

THE DECEITFULNESS OF THE HEART

MAJOR AND MINOR DIVISIONS OF SERMON VII. VIII.

(Part One)

- I. The heart is deceitful in its strength.
1. The more we are in age, the weaker in our courage.
 2. The heart of man is deceitful in making judgment concerning its own acts.
 3. The heart is deceitful in its own resolutions and purposes.
 4. The heart is false in its intentions and designs.

(Part Two)

II. It is the beginning of wisdom to know a man's own weaknesses and failings.

1. Our hearts are blind, wilfully blind.
 1. We are impatient of honest and severe reproof.
 2. If we have a mind to be wicked, we shall want no prompters.
 3. The heart of man hath yet another stratagem to secure its iniquity by the means of ignorance.
 1. The heart is hard too.
 2. The heart of man is strangely proud.
 3. The heart of man is deeply in love with wickedness and with nothing else.

COMPLETE SERMON V THE FAITH AND PATIENCE OF THE SAINTS

MAJOR AND MINOR DIVISIONS OF SERMON IX. X. XI.

(Part One)

1. Adam was placed in a garden of health and pleasure from which when he fell the world turned into sin.
2. Public evils were brought in by tyrants and usurpers and God suffered them as the first elements of virtue.

I. The state of the gospel is a state of sufferings not of temporal prosperities.

(Part Two)

II. God afflicts the godly, that He might manifest many of His attributes and His servants exercise many of their virtues.

(Part Three)

1. As long as they belong to God, it is necessary that they suffer persecution or sorrow.
 1. They that suffer any thing for Christ, and are ready to die for Him, let them do nothing against Him.
 2. He that suffers in a cause of God must be indifferent what the instance be.
 3. Whoever suffer in a cause of God from the hands of cruel and unreasonable men, let them not be too forward to prognosticate evil and death to their enemies.
 4. Do not trouble yourself by thinking how much you are afflicted, but consider how much you make of it.
 5. Let our suffering be entertained by a direct election, not by collateral aids and fantastic assistances.
 6. When God hath brought thee into Christ's school and entered thee into a state of sufferings, remember the advantages of that state.
2. If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the wicked and the sinner appear?

1. Faith is his foundation, hope is his anchor, and death is his harbour, and Christ is his pilot, and heaven is his country.
2. The godly are not made unhappy by their sorrows: and the wicked are such whom prosperity itself cannot make fortunate.
3. Every good man first drinks of the bottle of his own tears, but if they pass through a torrent, and that virtue becomes easy and habitual, they find their hearts enlarged and refreshment of His spirit.

COMPLETE SERMON VIII

OF GROWTH IN SIN

MAJOR AND MINOR DIVISIONS OF SERMON XVI. XVII.

(Part One)

I. Of some (sins) have compassion.

1. The first are those that sin without observation of their particular state.
 - a. Men sin because they are uninstructed in the special cases of conscience.
 - b. Men sin because they do an evil against which there is no express commandment.
2. The next are those who entertain themselves with the beginnings and little entrances of sin.
3. They are going to hell and, as matters stand with them, they cannot or think they cannot avoid it.
 1. Let every man consider that he hath two relations to serve, and he stands between God and his nearest relative.
 2. To persons tempted, learn to separate duty from mistaken interest.
 3. When passion mingles with duty, and is a necessary instrument of serving God, let not that passion run its own course.
 4. All evil comes from ourselves and not from others.

(Part Two)

4. The last sort that sin is of them that interrupt the course of an honest life with single acts of sin.
 1. A good man to be overtaken in a single crime is the greatest dishonour and unthriftiness in the world.
 2. Let persons tempted to the single instances of sin be careful that they suffer not themselves to be drawn aside by great examples.
 3. Remember that no man can please God unless he performs to God an entire duty.
 4. He must be careful that he never entertain his spirit with the remembrances of his past sin.

II

Some sins are such as will certainly bring man to damnation.

1. For all sins a pardon is ready to penitent persons.
2. In great instances the pardon is more uncertain and the repentance more difficult.

1. Some sins are unpardonable.
2. It is uncertain because it may be the time of pardon is past.
3. Pardon of habitual sins requires much time for their abolition.
4. Every delay of return is an approach to desperation.

COMPLETE SERMON III THE INVALIDITY OF A LATE OR DEATH-BED REPENTANCE

MAJOR AND MINOR DIVISIONS OF SERMON V. VI.

(Part One)

1. Repentance implies a deep sorrow.
2. Sorrow alone will not do it; there must follow a total dereliction of our sin.
3. He that resolves not to live well till the time comes that he must die is ridiculous and vain in his hope.
4. We must not only have overcome sin, but have acquired the habits of all those Christian graces.

(Part Two)

1. What parts of repentance are in holy scripture?
2. What it means in scripture to live holily.
3. What directions we have concerning the last time of beginning to repent.

I. Repentance we find to be the one half of all which God requires.

1. He that resolves to sin upon a resolution to repent, by every act of sin makes himself more incapable of repenting.
2. To repent signifies to be sorrowful, to be ashamed, and to wish it had never been done.
3. He that commits sins shall perish eternally if he never does repent.

II. The second general consideration is the necessity of holy living.

III. Our last enquiry is into the time, the last or latest time of beginning our repentance.

1. We have entered into covenant with God to serve Him from the day of our baptism to the day of our death.
2. Scripture, describing the duty of repenting sinners, names no other time but today.
3. So great a preparation is for the whole life of a Christian.
4. There is a certain period and time set for our repentance, and beyond that all our industry is ineffectual.

COMPLETE SERMON VI THE MERCY OF THE DIVINE JUDGMENTS

MAJOR AND MINOR DIVISIONS OF SERMON XII. XIII.

(Part One)

- I. The first great instrument that God chooses to bring us to Him is profit or benefit.
- II. The riches of the divine goodness are manifest in beginning this new method of curing us, by severity and by a rod.

(Part Two)

- III. In 'long-suffering' are contained all the treasures of the Divine goodness; here is the length and extension of His mercy.
 1. Long sufferance will little or nothing concern particular persons, but nations and communities of men.
 2. We are apt to abuse that mercy to vain confidences and presumption.
 3. If God suffers men to go in sins and punishes them not, it is not a mercy, they continue in their sin.

COMPLETE SERMON VII OF GROWTH IN GRACE

MAJOR AND MINOR DIVISIONS OF SERMON XIV. XV.

(Part One)

- I. The state of pardon and the divine favour begins at the first instance of anger against our crimes.
- II. I am now to begin to reckon the commencement of this precept, "Grow in Grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ."
 1. The first part is to make religion the business of our lives.
 2. When virtues grow habitual and easy they meet with powerful oppositions from without.
 3. By design, by order, and by affection we are more intent upon the actions of religion.
 4. To discern our growth in grace, we must enquire concerning our passions, whether they be quiet and under command.

(Part Two)

5. He is well grown in grace who is more patient of sharp reproof than of secret flattery.
6. He that is grown in grace esteems no sin to be little.
7. He that is grown in grace pursues virtue for its own interest.

8. A constant and prudent zeal is the best testimony of our vigorous heats.
9. He that would understand if he be grown in grace may consider if his safety consists in the strength of the Spirit.
10. No man is grown in grace but he that is ready for every work of God.
11. He is a perfect man who decrees no act before he hath considered maturely.

III. A man can grow in grace to no other purpose but to these or the like improvements.

1. The growth of grace is to be estimated as other moral things are.
2. Growth in grace is not always to be discerned, either in single instances or in single graces.
3. Be careful to observe that these rules are understood positively and affirmatively.
4. Take more care to consider matters that concern justice and charity.

COMPLETE SERMON IX

THE FOOLISH EXCHANGE

MAJOR AND MINOR DIVISIONS OF SERMON XVIII. XIX.

(Part One)

- I. Suppose a man gets all the world.
 1. What is it that he gets?
 2. He that is the greatest possessor in the world enjoys its best and most noble parts.
 3. Suppose a man lord of all the world.
 4. The greatest vanity of this world is all its joys summed up together are not big enough to counterpoise the evil of one sharp disease or sorrow.
 5. He who can be supposed the owner of the whole world must either be a king or a private person.
 6. If a man could be born heir of all the world it were something, but no man ever was so except Him.
- II. How much is every man likely to get and how much is it possible for him to get?
 1. The world is at the same time enjoyed by all its inhabitants and the same portion by several persons.
 2. Consider how far short of the whole world the greatest prince that ever reigned did come.
 3. The poor man's wants are no greater than what may be supplied by charity; and the rich man's wants are so big that none but princes can relieve them.
 4. He that enjoys a great portion of this world hath most commonly the alloy of some great cross.
 5. His soul so gets nothing that wins all this world if he loses it.

(Part Two)

1. Consider what the soul is in its own capacity to happiness.
2. Consider the price that the Son of God paid.
3. What it is to lose a soul.

III. Take care lest for the purchase of a little portion of the world you come into the state of torment.

Unity of Matter

Subjects. Of the eight complete sermons with which this study is concerned, it was found that there was arrangement in placement of certain sermons in two different orders. The first order or kind of subject which Taylor considered was a presentation of a subject which would define the nature or state of a particular virtuous quality or that which was a vice or evil. The second order or kind of subject was a treatment of growth or maturity in a particular nature or state which the first order previously presents. The following comparison may provide clarity for the point that is suggested:

NATURE OR STATE OF SUBJECT

Sermon I "Of the Spirit of Grace"
(the nature of grace)

Sermon III "Invalidity of Late
Repentance"
(a treatment of the state of sin or
of the nature of death bed repentance)

Sermon IV "Deceitfulness of Heart"
(the state of man's unknowing mind,
body, and soul)

Sermon V "Faith and Patience of
Saints"
(the nature of the knowledge of God)

GROWTH WITHIN THE SUBJECT

Sermon VII "Growth in Grace"
(growth or development in grace)

Sermon VIII "Growth in Sin"
(growth or development of sin)

Sermon IX "Foolish Exchange"
(the nature growth or development
of mind, body, and soul in exchange
for the world)

Sermon VI "Mercy of Divine Judgment"
(growth or development in the knowledge
of God through repentance)

Taylor used the technique of arrangement in these eight writings with respect to the position in which they occur in the complete Summer Half Year Sermons.

By this time it is well to point out that those sermons which work with the nature or state of the subject are the early sermons, numbers one, three, four, and five, and were probably written earlier than those sermons which indicate growth within the subject or the later sermons, numbers six, seven, eight, and nine.

Since Taylor was a member of the Church of England, it is profitable to point out that for the Winter Half Year Sermons, he was somewhat obliged to refer from time to time specifically to the church year of Advent through the Sunday after Ascension. This part of the church year strictly adheres to the life of Jesus Christ. From Whitsunday or the Descent of the Holy Ghost through the Trinity Season, the part of the church year for which the Summer Half Year Sermons were written, spiritual matters without strict adherence to the life of Jesus Christ were more often commented upon or discussed from the pulpit. Taylor maintains an ability to discuss universal subjects connected with the Christian tradition, particularly those of grace, sin, the heart or soul, and eternal faithfulness.

Theses and Texts. If there is unity of the choice of subject matter established in the eight sermons to be reviewed, then it seems necessary to examine whether Taylor supports that unity by the theses and texts he propounds for each individual sermon. The following was the thesis chosen for Sermon One, "Of the Spirit of Grace:"

The gospel and the Spirit are the same thing; not in substance; but 'the manifestation of the Spirit' is 'the gospel of Jesus Christ;' and because He was this day manifested, the gospel was this day first preached, and it became a law to us, called "the law of the Spirit of life;" that is, a law taught us by the Spirit, leading us to life eternal.²

Taylor arranges the thesis so that, first, he tells us what the gospel and the Spirit are, secondly, he gives a statement of why the gospel was first preached, thirdly, he describes what the gospel becomes, and lastly, what purpose the law of the Spirit has for us. In other words, Taylor answers three rhetorical questions, such as what is the subject?, why is it presented?, and what is the purpose?

The text for Sermon One, "Of the Spirit of Grace," is taken from the Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Romans, the eighth chapter, beginning at the ninth verse:

Be ye are not the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness.³

In the thesis of Sermon One, Taylor describes the gospel and the Spirit as the same; in the text St. Paul suggests that the Spirit and the gospel are the same, if we may interpret Jesus Christ as the Gospel, by St. Paul's statement, "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." In Taylor's thesis is also the purpose of the Spirit, "that is, a law taught us by the Spirit, leading us to life eternal;" and St. Paul says, "the Spirit is life because of righteousness." Righteousness or that which is morally right or virtuous in the sight of the Spirit is an end of eternal salvation taught by St. Paul. Taylor's use of his thesis and choice of readings of the New Testament complement one another in support of the subject, the state of grace.

³ The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version, New York, n.d., pp. 1157-8.

The thesis chosen for the "Growth in Grace," Sermon Seven, follows:

And this was not only their (man's) duty, but a great instance of providence, that by the great religion and piety of the first professors Christianity might be firmly planted, and unshaken by scandal, and hardened by persecution; and that these first lights might be actual precedents for ever, and copies for us to transcribe in all descending ages of Christianity that thither we might run to fetch oil to enkindle our extinguished lamps.⁴

Again, Taylor answers three specific rhetorical questions within his thesis as he did in the thesis of Sermon One, "Of the Spirit of Grace." The three questions that Taylor answered were what is man's duty?, which is the subject of the thesis; why is the subject, man's duty, presented?, and what is the purpose of life?, or what is the hope of man? The answer to the first question of man's duty is that "Christianity be firmly planted, and unshaken by scandal, and hardened by persecution;" the answer to the second question of why the subject is presented is "that these first lights might be actual precedents for ever;" and the answer to the third question of what the purpose in life is "that we might run to fetch oil to enkindle our extinguished lamps." This thesis in the context of the text probably warns man to hasten his repentance and therefore grow in grace.

The text of Sermon Seven, "Growth in Grace," is from the Second Epistle General of St. Peter the Apostle, the Third Chapter, beginning at the 18th Verse: "But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To him be glory both now and for ever. Amen."⁵ The subject, the growth in grace, is supported by the thesis and Taylor's choice of the New Testament selection.

⁴

Works, IV, p. 496.

⁵

The Holy Bible, p. 1247.

It is well to point out the fact that the rhetorical questions answered in Sermon One, "Of the Spirit of Grace," that is, what is the subject?, why is it (the subject) presented?, and what is the purpose? are similar to the rhetorical questions answered in Sermon Seven, "Growth in Grace," that is, what is man's duty (the subject)?, why is the subject presented?, and what is the purpose of life?.

The parallel arrangement of what is in the world and what choice there is in the world is keenly worked out by Taylor in the thesis of Sermon Three, "Invalidity of Late Repentance,"

God is the eternal fountain of honour and the spring of glory; in Him it dwells essentially, from it derives originally; and when an action is glorious or a man is honourable, it is because the action is pleasing to God in the relation of obedience or imitation, and because the man is honoured by God or by God's vicegerent: and therefore God cannot be dishonoured, because all honour comes from Himself; He cannot but be glorified, because to be Himself is to be infinitely glorious.

and in the thesis of Sermon Eight, "Growth in Sin," "Man hath but one entrance into the world, but a thousand ways to pass from thence."⁷ First of all, Taylor cites in Sermon Three what God's position is in the world, and in contrast in Sermon Eight what man's position is in the world. In "Invalidity of Late Repentance," God is all eternal, all knowing, all honour, and all action; whereas in "Growth in Sin," man has but one attribute or one entrance into the world. Secondly, what choice there is shows man's thousand ways to pass in Sermon Eight, which is the antithesis of the omnipotence of a one glorious God or way of life in Sermon Three.

6

Works, IV, p. 381.

7

Ibid., p. 520.

By the theses of the two sermons, Sermon Three indicates hope in what is and what choice there is, whereas Sermon Eight does not. The texts seemingly were chosen to do the same things. The text of "The Invalidity of a Late Repentance," is The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, the Thirteenth Chapter beginning at the 16th Verse:

Give glory to the Lord your God, before he cause darkness,
and before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains, and, while
ye look for light, he shall turn it into the shadow of death, and
make it gross darkness.⁸

The text of "Growth in Sin," is The General Epistle of Jude, beginning at the Twenty Second Verse: "And of some have compassion making a difference: And others save with fear pulling them out of the fire."⁹ This text for Sermon Eight does not indicate hope when considering "compassion" and "fear" in the context. Sermon Three indicates some hope by "Give glory to the Lord your God, before he causes darkness." In Sermon Eight, "Growth in Sin," the arrangement of the two ideas will not permit time to hope; whereas in Sermon Three, "Invalidity of Late Repentance," there is hope, since there is time to give glory to the Lord.

The reversal of ideas of thought is characteristic of the arrangement of the thesis in Sermon Four, "Deceitfulness of the Heart."

Folly and subtilty divide the greatest part of mankind,
and there is no other difference but his, that some are crafty
enough to deceive, others foolish enough to be cozened and
abused, and yet the scales also turn, for they that are the
most crafty to cozen others are the veriest fools, and most of
all abused themselves.¹⁰

⁸ The Holy Bible, p. 795.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 1253-4.

¹⁰ Works, IV, p. 408.

Jeremy Taylor suggests that "folly and subtilty" divide men, but if some are crafty enough to deceive, opposition will be encountered because actually man will abuse himself in so doing. The similar reversal, as is noticed in Sermon Nine, "Foolish Exchange," also exists with the deity.

When the eternal mercy of God had decreed to rescue mankind from misery and infelicity, and so triumphed over His own justice, the excellent wisdom of God resolved to do it in ways contradictory to the appetites and designs of man, that it might also triumph over our weaknesses and imperfect conceptions.¹¹

Here Taylor illustrates the mercy of God who triumphed over His own justice, and over ways contradictory to man because man knew no better and thus God triumphed over our weaknesses and conceptions.

The text of Sermon Four, "Deceitfulness of Heart," is the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, 17th Chapter beginning at the Ninth Verse: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?"¹² In context the plea is that trust in God is blessed, whereas trust in man is cursed. Taylor points out the weakness in man by folly and subtilty--this only supports his subject of the deceitfulness of the heart; there is not any question of arrangement which is of interest here--it is rather one of invention which is interesting.

The text of Sermon Nine, "The Foolish Exchange," is the Gospel according to St. Matthew, 16th Chapter, beginning at the 26th Verse: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"¹³ Again, it seems that this text supports Taylor's thesis in that it presents man in a questionable

¹¹ Ibid., p. 547.

¹² The Holy Bible, p. 799.

¹³ Ibid., p. 998.

position; again it is the matter of invention rather than of arrangement which is more important here.

Arrangement of subject matter in the last two theses presents a pattern of reasoning which leads from cause to effect; for example the knowledge of man is presented initially, then the repentance of man which is the effect of that knowledge of man follows.

For example, in "Faith and Patience of Saints," the thesis is:

God first entertained their services, and allured and prompted on the infirmities of the infant world by temporal prosperity; but by degrees changed His method; and as men grew stronger in the knowledge of God and the expectations of heaven, so they grew weaker in their fortunes, more afflicted in their bodies, more abated in their expectations, more subject to their enemies, and were to endure the contradiction of sinners, and the immission of the sharpnesses of providence and divine economy.¹⁴

And in "Mercy of Divine Judgment," the thesis is:

This is the sense and paraphrase of my text, "Despisest thou the riches of His goodness," . . .; "Thou dost not know," that is thou considerest not, that is for further benefit that God does thee this; the 'goodness of God' is not a design to serve His own ends upon thee, but thine upon Him; "The goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance."¹⁵

The thesis of Sermon Five, "Faith and Patience of Saints," indicates that even though God first entertained man's services and prompted on the infirmities of the infant world, He did change His method so that men grew stronger in God and weaker in the worldly matters. This points out that the cause to effect way of God, which was original with Him, was part of the total plan of the universe. The thesis of Sermon Six, "Mercy of Divine Judgment," illustrates that due to the cause that God does not design His plans to serve Him for His

¹⁴ Works, IV, p. 432.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 472.

own end, but rather for man's end, it is necessary that God leads man to repentance, by which man confesses to his deity so that he can hope for eternal judgment and salvation. The cause to effect relationship is shown also in the texts Taylor uses.

The text of Sermon Five, "Faith and Patience of Saints," is the First Epistle General of St. Peter, 4th Chapter beginning at the 17th Verse:

For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God: and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear? 16

If judgment, the effect of the end of man, be considered by man as that by which man can be saved, then the cause shall be by sin or by a sinner, according to the text.

The text of Sermon Six, "Mercy of Divine Judgment," is the Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Romans, 2nd Chapter beginning at the 4th Verse: "Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?" 17

If man despises the riches of God's goodness, not knowing that the cause, the goodness of God, will lead to the effect, which is repentance, long suffering is likely to endure.

16 The Holy Bible, p. 1244.

17 Ibid., p. 1152.

The techniques employed by Taylor in his theses, with support from the texts he chose as scriptural references, were answers to rhetorical questions, such as what is the subject?, why is it presented?, and what is the purpose?, parallel arrangement of material presented of what is in the world and what choice there is in the world, reversal of ideas of thought, and a pattern of reasoning which leads from cause to effect.

It has been observed that the use of pairs of theses maintained unity of arrangement and the texts accompanying these theses retained unity in arrangement. It seems possible then, that Taylor would further carry out his methods of arrangement in these particular works in such a way as to establish the unity of matter. It is the purpose of the next section of this paper to examine the eight full sermons to point out evidences that by arrangement of subjects, theses, and texts, Taylor has achieved a unification of matter.

The Divisio

As was mentioned in a previous section of this paper, the six parts of oratory outlined by Cicero seemed to be followed by Taylor in the construction of his Summer Half Year Sermons. In order to study in detail the divisio, it was considered necessary to divide the eight complete sermons into the six parts of an oration, so that the divisio could be considered in relationship to the other five parts, those being the exordium, the narratio, the confirmatio, the refutatio, and the peroratio.

First of all, a total word count of every full length sermon was taken; the total number of words "Of the Spirit of Grace," was 12,770, "Invalidity of Late Repentance" had 13,474 words, "Deceitfulness of Heart" totaled 11,811 words, "The Faith and Patience of Saints" had 20,370 words, "Mercy of Divine Judgment" added up to 12,948 words, "Of Growth in Grace" amounted to 11,822

words, "Of Growth in Sin" had 13,717 words, and "The Foolish Exchange" totaled 13,498 words.

In order to study the divisio, it is necessary to establish the relationship it has to the whole of the eight discourses. By the total length of eight of the Summer Half Year Sermons, that is, a variation of approximately 11,811 total number of words to 20,370 total number of words, it is found that there is also considerable difference in the length of the separate parts of the sermons. Upon analysis of the six parts of oratory of the eight sermons, that is, the exordium, the narratio, the divisio, the confirmatio, the refutatio, and the peroratio, it was found that five parts were extremely variable in comparison to the divisio in word length. For example, the variation of the number of words of the divisio in the eight sermons was from 84 words to 156 words, a difference of 72 words. Table Number One on page 62 has been compiled for complete presentation. The remaining number of words of variation ranged from sixteen hundred plus to eighty two hundred plus per part of the oration. The divisio, because of the narrow range of variation in word length in all eight sermons regardless of their total word count length, emerged as an especially interesting division in these sermons.

A slide rule was used to compute the statistical percentage of the number of words of each of the divisions of oratory in relation to the total number of words in the eight selected sermons of Jeremy Taylor. The least variable division of the sermon was the divisio with a percentage range variable of .59 to 1.22, a variation of less than one per cent or .63. The remainder percentage of the number of words of the divisions of oratory in relation to total number of words of the sermons varied in the exordium with a percentage range variable of .92 to 37.20, a variation of 36.28, in the confirmatio with a percentage range variable of 35.30 to 84.60, a variation of 49.30, in the refutatio

Table 1. Number of Words per Divisions of Sermons in Eight Selected Sermons of Jeremy Taylor

Titles of Sermons :	Divisions of Sermons					
	Exordium	Narratio	Divisio	Confirmatio	Refutatio	Peroratio
						Total Number of Words
Of the Spirit of Grace	192	2150	84	7812	156	2376
Invalidity of Late Rep.	1668	5016	144	4750	1536	360
Deceitfulness of Heart	312	739	144	7928	1908	780
The Faith and Patience	492	1104	120	13026	4620	1008
Mercy of Divine Judgment	564	120	156	10116	1224	768
Of Growth in Grace	648	552	120	8016	1814	672
Of Growth in Sin	61	576	144	11592	648	696
The Foolish Exchange	528	444	108	9348	2112	958
						12770
						13474
						11811
						20370
						12948
						11822
						13717
						13498

with a percentage range variable of 1.22 to 22.70, a variation of 21.48, and in the peroratio with a percentage range variable of 2.68 to 18.60, a variation of 15.92. In other words, the closest percentage range variable of the number of words in each of the divisions of oratory in relation to the total number of words in the eight selected sermons in the divisio which was .63 is considerably more consistent than the next lowest variable in the exordium which was 11.96. This percentage range variable continues to as high a variation as 49.30, as found in the confirmatio. Therefore, it was considered most valuable to continue to study the divisio since it was found to be most significantly alike of the divisions of the sermon in the eight selected sermons of Jeremy Taylor. Table Number Two on page 64 provides a detailed tabulation.

The length of the divisio in one of the eight sermons studied is 84 words, in another sermon the length was 108 words, in two sermons there were 120 words in the divisio, in three sermons 144 words were used, and in one sermon 156 words were counted. The percentage of number of words of the parts of the divisio in relation to the total number of words in the selected sermons indicate that whereas one divisio of 120 words in length of Sermon V indicated .59 of a percent of the total length of "The Faith and Patience of Saints," another divisio of the same number of words in Sermon VII indicated 1.01 percent of the total length "Of Growth in Grace." The percentage of number of words of the parts of the divisio in relation to the total number of words in the selected sermons which appeared only once were the divisio of 84 words in Sermon I which in length indicated .66 of a percent of the total length "Of the Spirit of Grace," the divisio of 108 words of Sermon IX which in length indicated .80 of a percent of the total length of "The Foolish Exchange," and the divisio of 156 words of Sermon VI which in length indicated 1.20 percent of the total length of "The Mercy of the Divine Judgment." The percentage of number of

Table 2. Percentage of Number of Words of the Divisions of Sermons in Relation to the Total Number of Words in the Eight Selected Sermons of Jeremy Taylor

Titles of Sermons	:	Division of Sermons				
		Exordium	Narratio	Divisio	Confirmatio	Refutatio Peroratio
Of the Spirit of Grace	:	1.50	16.85	.66	61.30	1.22 18.60
Invalidity of Late Rep.	:	12.40	37.20	1.07	35.30	11.40 2.68
Deceitfulness of the Heart	:	2.64	6.25	1.22	67.20	16.17 6.62
The Faith and Patience of S.	:	2.42	5.43	.59	64.00	22.70 4.95
The Mercy of Divine Judgment	:	4.35	.92	1.20	78.25	9.46 5.93
Of Growth in Grace	:	5.48	4.67	1.01	67.80	15.32 5.67
Of Growth in Sin	:	.44	4.21	1.05	84.60	4.73 5.08
The Foolish Exchange	:	3.91	3.28	.80	69.10	15.75 7.10

words of the parts of the divisio in relation to the total number of words in the selected sermons whose numbers of words appeared the same three times were 1144 words of Sermon III which in length indicated 1.07 percent of the total length of "Invalidity of Late Repentance"; 1144 words of Sermon IV which in length indicated 1.22 percent of the total length of "Deceitfulness of Heart," and 1144 words of Sermon VIII which in length indicated 1.04 percent of the total length "Of Growth in Sin."

Table number two which gives the percentage of number of words of the divisions of sermons in relation to the total number of words in the eight selected sermons supports table number one which explicitly indicates the number of words per division of sermon in the eight selected sermons. It was felt necessary to record both observations for clarity. For the present, by length only, the divisio as one part of oratory shows consistency in the eight sermons selected of Jeremy Taylor.

Taylor's ability in arrangement of eight selected sermons of the Summer Half Year Sermons to be precise, remain pointed, establish the points of the controversy or discourse in such a few number of words, and divide the whole work into particular segments can best be seen in the arrangement of the divisio.

The divisio "Of the Spirit of Grace," Sermon One, follows:

Upon this foundation the apostle hath built these two propositions;

1. Whosoever hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His; he does not belong to Christ at all; he is not partaker of His Spirit, and therefore shall never be partaker of His glory.

2. Whosoever is in Christ is dead to sin, and lives to the Spirit of Christ; that is, lives a spiritual, a holy, and a sanctified life.

These are to be considered distinctly.¹⁸

¹⁸ Works, IV, p. 336.

In the divisio of this first sermon two precise and concise propositions are stated. The first of the two propositions is negative in nature. Taylor initially makes a statement of the first proposition in "Whosoever hath not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His," he then develops that statement by two ideas, "he does not belong to Christ at all" and "he is not partaker of His spirit;" and finally concludes with "and therefore shall never be partaker of His glory." The second of the two propositions is affirmative rather than negative in nature. Taylor initially makes a statement of his second proposition, "Whosoever is in Christ is dead to sin;" he then has one developing idea, "and lives to the Spirit of Christ," and finally makes a conclusion to the matter, "that is, lives a spiritual, a holy, and a sanctified life."

The introductory word used in stating the two propositions is *whosoever*; by virtue of its duplication at the beginning of each phrase, it is called by figure of diction, *epanaphora*.

Taylor makes use of the enthymeme in this divisio as follows:

- (1) Whosoever hath not the spirit of Christ,
He is none of His.
- (2) He is not partaker of His spirit,
therefore shall never be partaker of his glory.

and

- (3) Whosoever is in Christ,
(he) is dead to sin.

The reasoning employed in these two propositions is by contraries or opposites--the first negative, the second affirmative.

Sermon five, "The Faith and Patience of Saints," has the following divisio:

That's the sense and design of the text; and I intend it as a direct antinomy to the common persuasions of tyrannous, carnal, and vicious men, who reckon nothing good but what is prosperous: for though that proposition had many degrees of

truth in the beginning of the law, yet the case is now altered, God hath established its contradictory; and now every good man must look for persecution, and every good cause must expect to thrive by the sufferings and patience of holy persons: and as men do well and suffer evil, so they are dear to God; and whom He loves most He afflicts most, and does this with a design of the greatest mercy in the world.¹⁹

Two basic ideas are in the divisio of the fifth sermon: the first statement is "and now every good man must look for the persecution" and the development is "every good cause must expect to thrive by the sufferings and patience of holy persons." The second main idea is "and as men do well and suffer evil so they are dear to God" with the development being "whom He loves most He afflicts most, and does this with a design of the greatest mercy in the world."

Taylor, in his fifth sermon, follows the same pattern in the matter of his divisio as he used in sermon one, that being statement-development item one, and statement-development item two.

This divisio is not as direct as the first sermon considered, but is somewhat easily recognized. His transitional phrases introducing his two ideas in sermon five are "and now" and "and as" which show little or no similarity by form or matter.

Two examples of enthymeme in this divisio are:

- (1) As men do well and suffer evil,
so they are dear to God.

and

- (2) Whom He loves most,
He afflicts most.

The divisio of sermon four or "Deceitfulness of the Heart" is:

And there is no greater argument of the deceitfulness of our hearts than this, that no man can know it all; it cozens

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 434.

us in the very number of its conzenage. But yet we can reduce it all to two heads. We say concerning a False man, trust him not, for he will deceive you; and we say concerning a weak and broken staff, Lean not upon it, for that will also deceive you. The man deceives because he is false, and the staff because it is weak; and the heart, because it is both, so that it is "deceitful above all things;" that is, failing and disabled to support us in many things, but in other things where it can, it is false and "desperately wicked."

The first sort of deceitfulness is its calamity and the second is its iniquity; and that is the worse calamity of the two.²⁰

In the divisio, sermon four returns to directness as was the divisio of sermon one. For example, the introduction to the divisio is "But yet we can reduce it all to two heads" in sermon four and in sermon one the introduction to the divisio is "Upon this foundation the apostle hath built these two propositions." The number two (2) has been somewhat important in the divisions of the three sermons reviewed thus far, consequently the case has two main ideas.

With "Deceitfulness of the Heart" comes a change in the arrangement of the divisio. The first idea is stated, that is, "We say concerning a False man, Trust him not, for he will deceive you," then the second main idea is stated, "we say concerning a weak and broken staff, Lean not upon it, for that will also deceive you." The first idea is developed by "man deceives because he is false" followed by the development of the second idea, "the staff deceives because it is weak." Finally a conclusion to both ideas is presented, "The heart because it is both (false and weak), so that it is deceitful above all things; that is, failing and disabled to support us in many things, but in other things where it can, it is false and desperately wicked." The change in arrangement of the divisio has been from:

Sermon Number One and Sermon Number Five,

(first idea)	statement,	development,	and conclusion
(second idea)	"	"	"

to

Sermon Number Four,

statement, first idea
statement, second idea

development, first idea
development, second idea

conclusion, both ideas.

The use of the enthymeme in "Deceitfulness of the Heart" follows:

- (1) Concerning a false man, trust him not,
For he will deceive you.

and

- (2) Concerning a weak and broken staff, Lean not upon it,
For that will also deceive you.

The transitional phrase used in introducing the two subjects is "we say" which is the second example of epanaphora, the first being in sermon one, "Of Spirit of Grace."

The divisio "Of Growth in Sin" or sermon eight is:

In order to which end, my purpose now is to remonstrate to you the several states of sin and death, together with those remedies which God had proportioned out to them; that we may observe the evils of the least, and so avoid the intolerable mischiefs of the greater, even of those sins which still are within the power and possibilities of recovery; lest insensibly we fall into those sins, and into those circumstances of person, for which Christ never died, which the holy Ghost never means to cure, and which the eternal God never will pardon: for there are of this kind more than commonly men imagine, whilst they amuse their spirits with gaities and false principles, till they have run into horrible impieties, from whence they are not willing to withdraw snatch and force them thence.²¹

Sermon eight is not as specific in the points that are established in the divisio as compared to sermons one and four. The transitional words used to introduce the two main divisions are "that" and "lest" which have little significance to a plan other than that variety does exist in Taylor's device

²¹ Ibid., p. 521.

of transitional words and phrases.

By arrangement of the divisio "Of Growth in Sin" it is readily noticeable that the pattern Taylor uses is that of Sermon Four. Statement one, "that we may observe the evils of the least, and so avoid the intolerable mischiefs of the greater, even of those sins which still are within the power and possibilities of recovery" is given followed by the second main idea, "lest insensibly we fall into those sins, and into those circumstances of person, for which Christ never died, which the holy Ghost never means to cure, and which the eternal God never will pardon." The development entails both main ideas, "for there are of this kind more than commonly men imagine, whilst they amuse their spirits with gaieties and false principles till they have run into horrible impieties from whence they are not willing to withdraw their foot." The conclusion is also made for both premises, "God is resolved never to snatch and force them thence."

"Of Growth in Sin" has one enthymeme in the divisio:

We may observe the evils of the least,
and so avoid the intolerable mischiefs of the greater.

At this point, it is necessary to notice a point of style employed by Taylor. The divisio, "Of Growth in Sin," is one continuous long, complex sentence. It is divided by two semi-colons, and one colon. Taylor's ability to use the lengthy sentence structure, to maintain his precision in presentation of his ideas, and to control his smoothness and understandability of the language cannot be overestimated.

Beginning with the analysis of sermon three, "Invalidity of Late Repentance," the invention of the main ideas falls into three categories rather than two as has been the case of sermons one, four, five, and eight.

The divisio of sermon three is:

But I shall pursue this great and necessary truth,
First, by shewing what parts and ingredients of repentance
are assigned, when it is described in holy scripture;

Secondly, by shewing the necessities, the absolute
necessities, of a holy life, and what it means in scripture
to live holily:

Thirdly, by considering what directions or intimations
we have concerning the last time of beginning to repent;
and what is the longest period that any man may venture with
safety. And in the prosecution of these particulars we shall
remove the objections, those aprons of fig-leaves, which men
use for their shelter to palliate their sin, and to hide them-
selves from that from which no rock or mountains shall pro-
tect them, though they fall upon them; that is, the wrath of
God.²²

The arrangement of the divisio in sermon three is to present the first
idea, "by shewing what parts and ingredients of repentance are assigned,"
followed by the state, nature, or condition of the basic idea, "when it is
described in holy scripture;" the second idea, "by shewing the necessities,
the absolute necessities, of a holy life," followed by reason or nature of
idea, "what it means in scripture to live holily;" and the third main idea,
"by considering what directions or intimations we have concerning the last
time of beginning to repent," followed by a state or condition of the idea,
"what is the longest period that any man may venture with safety."

The divisio of "Invalidity of Late Repentance" is precisely presented to
the reader. By the mere introductory statement, "But I shall pursue this great
and necessary truth," one is prepared to hear the substance or outline of the
specific parts or states of the question.

Transitions which are commonly used by Jeremy Taylor are "first," "secondly,"
and "thirdly." Not only do they act as transitions, but they are presented in

²² Ibid., p. 394.

an orderly and specialized treatment which is extremely clear. It is possible that the use of three in the seventeenth century was the background from the Christian tradition with reference to the Holy Trinity or God-head, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

Introductory phrases used in this particular divisio were "by shewing, by shewing, and by considering," which is another example of Taylor's use of *spanaphora*.

The *divisio* of sermon six, "The Mercy of the Divine Judgment," is:

Here, then is God's method of curing mankind. First, goodness, or inviting us to Him by sugared words, by the placid arguments of temporal favour and the propositions of excellent promises. Secondly, although God is provoked every day, yet He tolerates our stubbornness, He forbears to punish; and when He does begin to strike, takes His hand off, and gives us truce and respite. Thirdly, still a long putting off and deferring His final destroying anger, by using all means to force us to repentance; and this especially by the way of judgments; these being the last reserves of the divine mercy, and however we esteem it, is the greatest instance of the divine long-suffering that is in the world.²³

As in "Invalidity of Late Repentance," sermon six has an introductory statement to the main ideas which is "Here then is God's method of curing mankind." This type of introduction sets the stage, so to speak, for the content or important matter to follow.

The arrangement of "Mercy of Divine Judgment" and following sermons have a tendency to answer rhetorical questions such as what, how, and when. Specifically, in this sermon, what is goodness?, how is goodness presented?, and when is goodness achieved? are the rhetorical questions which are answered. Taylor answers the first question, what is goodness?, by "goodness, or inviting us to Him by sugared words, by the placid arguments of temporal favour and the propositions of excellent promises." The second

²³ Ibid., p. 472.

question, how is goodness presented?, is answered by "although God is provoked every day, yet He tolerates our stubbornness, He forbears to punish; and when He does begin to strike, takes His hand off, and gives us truce and respite." The third question, when is goodness achieved?, is explained with "still a long putting off and defferring His final destroying anger, by using all means to force us to repentance."

The transitional device used in sermon three is found again in this divisio, that being first, secondly, and thirdly.

"Of Growth in Grace" or Sermon Seven's divisio follows:

But grow in grace; that's the remedy, and that would make us all wise and happy, blessed in this world, and sure of heaven; concerning which, we are to consider, first, what the state of grace is unto which every one of us must be entered, that we may grow in it; secondly, the proper parts, acts, and offices of growing in grace; thirdly, the signs, consequences, and proper significations, by which if we cannot perceive the growing, yet afterwards we may perceive that we are grown, and so judge of the state of our duty, and concerning our final condition of being saved.²⁴

Since Jeremy Taylor gives his answer to that which would make us all happy, that virtuous quality which has always been sought by man, blessed, and sure of heaven, we must first know the state of grace. The arrangement is the same as that of "Invalidity of Late Repentance" and "Mercy of Divine Judgment" with what is the state of grace?, the first rhetorical question answered, "The state of grace is unto which every one of us must be entered, that we may grow in it." The second question, how do we obtain this state of grace?, is answered "by the proper parts, acts, and offices of growing in grace." When can we hope to achieve this grace?, the final question, is answered as "the signs, consequences,

²⁴ Ibid., p. 498.

and proper significations yet afterwards we may perceive that we are grown."

Taylor is precise by his introductory comment of the divisio of Sermon Seven. "But grow in grace; that's the remedy," indicates that before achieving the state of grace, a person is with disease; however if a person can grow in the state of grace, he is able to remedy his disease, in part.

His transitional words are the same as sermons three and six so that first, secondly, and thirdly are consistently used in this group of sermons.

"The Foolish Exchange," or sermon nine's divisio is:

Here then first we will consider the propositions of the exchange, the world, and a man's soul, by way of supposition, supposing all that is propounded were obtained, the whole world. Secondly we will consider what is likely to be obtained really and indeed of the world, and what are really the miseries of a lost soul; for it is propounded in the text by way of supposition, if a man should gain the world, which no man ever did or ever can, and he that gets most gets too little to be exchanged for a temporal life: and thirdly, I shall apply it to your practice, and make material considerations.²⁵

Of the eight sermons, "The Foolish Exchange" is the fourth in a series to use the transitional words of first, secondly, and thirdly.

By arrangement, sermon nine answers similar rhetorical questions which have also been answered in sermons six and seven. The first question answered is what is the exchange that is possible for man? with the answer "we will consider the propositions of the exchange of the world and a man's soul" How is this exchange (the world and man's soul) described? or what is the condition? Taylor's comment is "we will consider what is likely to be obtained really and indeed of the world, and what are really the miseries of a lost soul" If an exchange is possible and the conditions are explained, the final question answered is by what method will you handle the exchange? Taylor indicates "I shall apply it to your practice, and make material considerations."

²⁵ Ibid., p. 549.

The use of the repeated phrase "we will consider" in the opening statements of each point offered is a further example of epanaphora, a figure of diction used quite consistently by Taylor.

By sentence structure, it was found in the divisio that the range of number of sentences was from one to four sentences in comparison with 84 to 156 number of words in length. Two of the eight divisios were four sentences by composition, one was three sentences in composition length, two were two sentences in length, and three were one sentence. A noticeable stylistic quality concerning this matter is the ability of Jeremy Taylor to maintain preciseness as well as being direct, to manage proper division of the case, and to acquire eloquence in his presentation of such lengthy sentences in the divisio.

Taylor's consistency in the divisio of the eight sermons chosen for analysis has further showed that not only length is consistent, but arrangement of information or basic ideas in twos (four of the sermons) and threes (four of the sermons), his arrangement of transitional devices, the use of the enthymeme, conciseness in his material and the arrangement of the material, and his continual use of a figure of diction, the epanaphora are a few means of consistency which added meaning to the understanding of his sermons.

Taylor's ability to arrange the basic ideas by one, statement, development, and conclusion of the first idea, second idea, and third idea, by two, statements of one idea, statements of a second idea, development of one idea, development of a second idea, and finally a conclusion to both ideas, and by three, the rhetorical questions answered in sequence by arrangement of what is the subject? how is the subject handled? and when is the subject applicable? are further evidences of his method investigated.

It cannot be overemphasized how much the divisio, as one part of pulpit oratory, reflects the nature and content of the whole piece of work reviewed

of Jeremy Taylor's. Previous to the divisio, the exordium introduces and the narratio states the background of the case, but leads up to the divisio which will assume the position of breaking down the whole matter on which the confirmatio is separated and explained, that which gives reason for a refutatio on the main issues, and finally a summary of the whole, the peroratio. The position that the divisio takes on the whole of the rhetorical composition is quite important; it seems most necessary of the parts of oratory which is the reason for this inquiry into the consistency which Jeremy Taylor employed.

CONCLUSIONS

In the matter which concerns unity of form of the selected sermons of Jeremy Taylor, it was found that in the major divisions of those selected, he used consistently two methods in writing: one method being two major premises, the second method being three major premises. Since three and four minor divisions were most commonly used by Taylor in his first sub-division of the subject matter, it was consistently found to reappear in all of the eight sermons studied except sermon five. Study of further sub-division has not indicated any consistency.

To maintain unity of matter it was found that Taylor employed two methods of arrangement in presenting his subjects by which he titled his sermons. The first method of presentation was a definition of the nature or state of a particular subject, and the second method of presentation was a treatment of growth or maturity on a subject which he previously establishes in another sermon.

The techniques employed by Taylor in his theses with support from the texts he chooses as scriptural references were answers to rhetorical questions, parallel arrangement of material presented, reversal of ideas of thought, and

a pattern of reasoning which leads from cause to effect.

Consistency in the divisio has shown that Jeremy Taylor was able to establish length, arrangement of ideas, arrangement of transitional devices, the use of the epanaphora, the use of the enthymeme, all by conciseness and directness which opens up another area in this particular prose study.

From the foregoing study, it is hoped that the initial purpose of it has been achieved, that is, an insight into the functional organization of Jeremy Taylor's prose in the Summer Half Year Sermons.

An appreciation of Taylor's arrangement in these sermons is believed to be necessary to an understanding of the artistic methods employed in these prose writings.

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APPENDIX

TITLES OF THE TWENTY-SEVEN SERMONS, THEIR ORDER, NUMBER,
AND TEXTS

SERMON I. II.

WHITSUNDAY

Of the Spirit of grace 331, 342

Rom. viii. 9, 10.

But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness.

SERMON III. IV.

The decending and entailed curse cut off . . . 356, 369

Exod. xx. 5, 6.

I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me: and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love Me, and keep My commandments.

SERMON V. VI.

The invalidity of a late or death-bed repentance . . 381, 394

Jerem. xlii. 16.

Give glory to the Lord your God, before He cause darkness and before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains, and while ye look for light (or, lest while ye look for light) He shall turn it into the shadow of death, and make it gross darkness.

SERMON VII. VIII.

The deceitfulness of the heart 408, 419

Jerem. xvii. 9.

The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked; who can know it?

SERMON IX. X. XI.

The faith and patience of the saints; or, the righteous
cause oppressed 431, 445, 458

1 Pet. iv. 17. 18.

For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God:
and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that
obey not the gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be
saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?

SERMON XII. XIII.

The mercy of the divine judgments; or, God's method in curing
sinners 471, 483

Romans ii. 4.

Despisest thou the riches of His goodness, and forbearance, and long
suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to
repentance?

SERMON XIV. XV.

Of growth in grace, with its proper instruments and signs . . . 496, 506

2 Pet. iii. 18.

But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, to
whom be glory both now and for ever. Amen.

SERMON XVI. XVII.

Of growth in sin: or, the several states and degrees of sinners,
with the manner how they are to be treated. 520, 532

Jude 22, 23.

And of some have compassion, making a difference; and others save
with fear, pulling them out of the fire.

SERMON XVIII. XIX.

The foolish exchange 547, 559

Matt. xvi. 26.

For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose
his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?

SERMON XX. XXI. XXII.

The serpent and the dove: or, a discourse of Christian
prudence 573, 583, 594

Matt. x. 16; latter part.

Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless doves.

SERMON XXIII. XXIV.

Of Christian simplicity 609, 620

Matt. x. 16; latter part.

And harmless as doves.

SERMON XXV. XXVI. XXVII.

The miracles of the divine mercy 632, 645, 658

Psaln lxxxvi. 5.

For Thou, Lord, art good and ready to forgive, and plenteous in mercy
to all them that call upon Thee.

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED
SERMONS OF JEREMY TAYLOR

by

LEON EDWARD TILBURY

B. A., Western State College of Colorado, 1958

AN ABSTRACT OF

A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Speech

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1961

The purpose of this paper was to determine how Jeremy Taylor organized his material for the best possible effect in his Summer Half Year Sermons of A Yearly Course or Eviavros. Its ultimate aim was to open new avenues for appreciating the artistic prose of Taylor by investigating his method of arrangement or disposition.

It was found necessary to review for background and understanding the author's youth in England, life in Wales, and retirement in Ireland. It was also considered essential to review the status of the Seventeenth Century Church of England, that is, Anglo Catholicism, Anglicanism, and Puritanism. Inasmuch as the arrangement or disposition of the sermons was concerned, unity of form, the major and minor divisions of the sermons, unity of matter, subjects, theses, and texts of the sermons, and the consistency in the divisio of the sermons were the elements which were analyzed in this study.

To the best knowledge of this writer, it was found that no work had been done previously in the area of disposition or arrangement with the Summer Half Year Sermons of A Yearly Course. The study was based on the Reginald Heber and Charles Page Eden edition of The Whole Works of the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D.D., 1862.

In the matter which concerns unity of form of the selected sermons of Jeremy Taylor, it was found that in the major divisions of those selected, he used consistently two methods in writing: one method being two major premises, the second method being three major premises. Since three and four minor divisions were most commonly used by Taylor in his first sub-division of the subject matter, it was consistently found to reappear in all of the eight sermons studied except sermon five.

To maintain unity of matter it was found that Taylor employed two methods of arrangement in presenting his subjects by which he titled his sermons. The

first method of presentation was a definition of the nature or state of a particular subject, and the second method of presentation was a treatment of growth or maturity on a subject which he previously establishes in another sermon.

The techniques employed by Taylor in his theses with support from the texts he chooses as scriptural references were answers to rhetorical questions, parallel arrangement of material presented, reversal of ideas of thought, and a pattern of reasoning which leads from cause to effect.

Consistency in the divisie of the sermons has shown that Jeremy Taylor was able to establish length, arrangement of ideas, arrangement of transitional devices, the use of the epanaphora, and the use of the enthymeme all by conciseness and directness.